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THE UTOPIA OF SIR THOMAS MORE



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UTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u x y
 Ó Θ Π Γ Ε Θ Θ Γ Ε Ω Ψ Δ Ι Λ Γ Γ Π Θ Π Θ Π Θ

TETRASTICHON VERNACVLA VTO- PIENSIVM LINGVA.

Vtopos ha Boccas peula chama
 ΠΩΛΓΛΕΘÓ ΕΛΠΘÓΘΠ ΓΓΕΞÓ ΠΘÓΔÓ
 polta chamaan.
 ΓΛΞΠÓ ΠΘÓΔÓÓ.

Bargol he maglomi baccan
 ΘÓΠΘΛΞ ΓΓ ΔÓΘΞΛΔΩ ΘÓΠΠÓ
 foma gymnofophaon
 ΗΛΔÓ ΘΠΔΙΛΕΛΓΕÓΛ.

Agrama gymnofophon labarem
 ÓΘΠÓΔÓ ΘΠΔΙΛΕΛΓΕΛ ΞÓΘÓΠΘΔ
 bacha bodamilomin.
 ΘÓΠΘÓ ΕΛΘÓΔΩΞΛΔΩ.

Voluala barchin heman la
 ΕΛΞΕΘÓΞÓ ΘÓΠΠΘΓΩ ΓΓΔÓ ΞÓ
 lauoluola dramme pagloni.
 ΞÓΕΛΞΕΛΞÓ ΘΠÓΔΔΘ ΓÓΘΞΛΩ.

HORVM VERSVVM AD VERBVM HAEC EST SENTENTIA.

Vtopus me dux ex non infula fecit infulam.
 Vna ego terrarum omnium absq; philosophia
 Ciuitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
 Libenter impartio mea, non grauatim accipio meliora.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE WOODCUT OF THE UTOPIAN ALPHABET

See note, p. 153.

The Utopia
of
Sir Thomas More

Translated by Ralph Robinson

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

H. B. Cotterill, M.A.

Editor of Milton's 'Areopagitica,' etc.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1937

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PREFACE.

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THE text here given is mainly that of Robinson's emended second edition of 1556; but I have sometimes preferred the reading of the earlier version of 1551, as more vigorous or more intelligible, and have adopted modern spelling and punctuation. The punctuation of older writers is often a curiosity, and that of the first edition is arbitrary and puzzling enough; but that of the second has suffered such a change for the worse, and seems often so entirely independent of sense and construction, that I think Robinson must have left the correction of proofs to some incompetent person. Two omissions and about as many euphemisms were regarded as advisable in order to make the book suitable for class reading. Old-fashioned words have been retained and explained. The marginal notes, which were inserted, possibly by Erasmus, in the Basel (1518) edition of the Latin original, and were translated by Robinson in his second version, have been used to some extent in the summary on pp. 60-64. The writers to whom I am indebted, or to whom students should refer for further details, have been mentioned, I hope, with sufficient frequency. The modern edition of the *Utopia*

(Latin and English) which I have most constantly kept in view is that by Dr. Lupton. I have also occasionally referred to those by Dr. Lumby, Prof. Arber, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Collins. The admirable Introduction in the German edition of the Latin text by Michels and Ziegler I have found especially interesting and useful.

H. B. C.

VEVEY, *January 1, 1908.*

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INTRODUCTION.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF MORE'S LIFE WITH SOME FACTS OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

- | | |
|--|---|
| | 1478. Feb. 7. More born. |
| 1483. Charles VIII. k. of France.
Raphael b. (<i>d.</i> 1520). | |
| 1484. Innocent VIII. pope. | |
| | 1486. At St. Anthony's School. |
| | 1490. With Cardinal Morton. |
| 1491. Henry VII. invades
France. | |
| 1492. Columbus reaches West
Indies.
Alex. VI. (Borgia) pope.
The conquest of Granada. | 1492-3. At Oxford. |
| 1493. Maximilian I. Kaiser (<i>d.</i>
1519).
<i>Holbein b.</i> | |
| | 1494. At New Inn.
Colet leaves Oxford for
Italy. |
| | 1496. To Lincoln's Inn. |
| 1497. Cornish insurgents routed
at Blackheath.
Perkin Warbeck captured.
Vespucci's first voyage.
Seb. Cabot discovers New-
foundland. | |
| 1498. Columbus reaches Ameri-
can mainland.
De Gama discovers Cape
passage.
Louis XII. (<i>d.</i> 1515).
Savonarola burnt. | 1498. Meets Erasmus.
Erasmus and Colet at
Oxford. |

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|---|---|
| <p>1501. Arthur Tudor <i>m.</i> Catharine of Aragon, and dies.</p> <p>1502. Margaret Tudor <i>m.</i> James IV. of Scotland.</p> <p>1503. Vespucci's last voyage.
Pius III. pope.
Julius II. pope.
Ferdinand of Spain conquers Naples.</p> <p>1506. Charles becomes king of Castile.</p> <p>1509. Henry VIII. comes to throne, and marries Catharine. Raphael and Michelangelo at Rome.</p> <p>1511. The 'Holy League.'</p> <p>1512. Henry VIII. attacks France.
Return of the Medici.</p> | <p>1501. Called to bar.
Lectures on <i>De Civitate Dei</i>.
Lives in or near Charterhouse.
Erasmus' second visit.</p> <p>1503-4. In parliament.
Resists subsidy for Henry VII.
Erasmus in Italy.</p> <p>1505. <i>m.</i> Jane Colt.
Settles in Bucklersbury.
Margaret born.
Erasmus' third visit.
Translates <i>Dialogues of Lucian</i>.
Colet Dean of St. Paul's.</p> <p>1507. (?) His father imprisoned and he himself in danger from Henry VII.'s displeasure.</p> <p>1508. Visits Paris and Louvain (perhaps to avoid trouble with Henry VII.).
Sweating sickness.</p> <p>1509. Under-sheriff.
Erasmus' fourth visit and his <i>Praise of Folly</i> begun.</p> <p>1510. His wife dies.
<i>m.</i> Alice Middleton.
<i>Life and writings of Pico di Mirandola</i>.
Made Benchet.
Lily starts at St. Paul's School.
Erasmus at Cambridge.</p> <p>1511. Reader in Lincoln's Inn.</p> |
|---|---|

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|--|---|
| 1513. Flodden Field and 'Battle of Spurs.'
Leo X. (Medici) pope. | 1513. Writes, or translates, <i>History of Edward V. and Richard III.</i> (published in 1547 by Roper). |
| 1514. Charles breaks off his betrothal with Mary Tudor. | 1514. Parting of More and Erasmus, at Bishop Fishers', Rochester. Moves to Crosby Place, Bishopsgate (?). |
| 1515. Francois I. (d. 1547).
Wolsey made Chancellor. | 1515. To Flanders. Arrives Bruges in May. At Antwerp Sept.-Dec. <i>Second book of Utopia.</i> |
| 1516. Charles succeeds Ferdinand V. as king of Spain.
Erasmus publishes his <i>New Testament.</i> | 1516. Returns to England. <i>First Book of Utopia</i> (begun after May. See on 15. 9. <i>Utopia</i> sent to Giles end Oct. ; printed by end of year. See on 151. 7). |
| 1517. Luther's 95 Theses.
Wolsey papal legate. | 1517. 'Evil May-day' riot. Great sweating-sickness epidemic. Margaret nearly dies. Acts as counsel for Pope in the matter of the forfeited ship. Embassy to Calais. Erasmus in England. |
| | 1518. Privy Councillor. <i>Epigrams.</i> <i>Letter to Oxford defending Greek Studies.</i> |
| 1519. Charles V. Kaiser. | |
| 1520. Luther burns papal Bull. | 1520. Calais. Field of Cloth of Gold. |
| 1521. Diet of Worms. | 1521. Knighted. Under Treasurer. Embassy to Bruges and Calais. Edits (?) Henry's <i>Seven Sacraments.</i> Henry made <i>Fidei Defensor</i> by Pope. |
| 1522. Charles visits England. Renewal of French war. Adrian VI. pope. | 1522. <i>Last four things</i> (published 1557). |

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|--|--|
| 1523. Clement VII. (Medici) pope. | 1523. Speaker of House of Commons.
Moves finally to Chelsea (?).
Under the name 'Rosseus' answers with fierce invective Luther's pamphlet against Henry and his counsellors. |
| 1525. Battle of Pavia.
Peasant war in Germany. | 1525. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster.
Margaret <i>mi.</i> William Roper. |
| 1526. Peace of Madrid. | 1526. Holbein More's guest.
(Oct. 3.) |
| 1527. Rome sacked by Germans and Spaniards under Constable Bourbon, who is killed.
Tyndale's Bible.
Medici expelled from Florence. | 1527. Embassy to France (July).
With Wolsey at Amiens.
Holbein paints his portrait. |
| 1529. The Turks besiege Vienna.
Peace of Cambray.
Charles crowned by Pope at Bologna.
Henry wishes to divorce Catharine.
Fall of Wolsey. | 1528. <i>Dialogue</i> (against Lutherans).
Holbein returns to Basel. |
| 1530. Augsburg Diet and Confession.
Florence again under Medici. | 1529. <i>Supplication of Souls</i> .
Embassy to Cambray (July).
Lord High Chancellor (25 Oct.).
Opens the seven-years' Parliament. |
| 1531. Henry claims to be Supreme Head of Church in England.
Appeal to Universities.
Thomas Cromwell in power. | 1530. Sir John More dies. |
| 1533. Cranmer archbishop.
Elizabeth born.
Nun of Kent executed. | 1531. <i>Confutation of Tyndale</i> .
Refuses £5000 offered by bishops and clergy. |
| | 1532. Resigns Great Seal (May).
<i>Apology</i> . |
| | 1533. Absent from Anne's coronation.
Defends himself in the matter of the Nun of Kent (June).
Holbein again in England |

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|-------|--|-------|---|
| 1534. | Paul III. pope. | 1534. | Examined by Council at Lambeth (March) and sent to Tower.
Twice refuses his oath to the Act of Supremacy (April, May).
Attainted for 'misprision of Treason' (Nov.).
<i>Dialogue of Comfort and Letters to Margaret.</i> |
| 1535. | Pope makes Fisher cardinal.
Calvin settles at Geneva.
Charles V. at Tunis. | 1535. | Henry makes Cromwell his 'Vicar-general.'
Carthusian monks executed.
Bishop Fisher executed (June 22).
More's trial (July 1).
His execution (July 6). |
| 1536. | Anne Boleyn executed.
Catharine of Aragon dies.
Erasmus dies. | | |

NOTE.

The period of English history covered by More's life is fully and fairly described and discussed by Green (chap. vi. 3-6). It would be superfluous to reiterate what is so easily accessible, especially as I have explained many allusions in the Notes. Further detail may be found in Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.* There are, of course, many other accounts, from very diverse standpoints, of the break with the papacy. Froude's account (*History*, i. ii. and iii.), although, according to Green, 'of little or no historical value,' will be found amusing for its ingenious advocacy of what most people, whether Protestants or not, are compelled to regard as diabolic in the acts of Thomas Cromwell and his master. As a counterblast to Froude's fierce denunciations of

papistry, we have a *Life of Blessed Thomas More* by Father Bridgett. More's home life is described in the following section. For details of his public life (the chief events of which are given in the Summary) the account by William Roper, his son-in-law, should be read. A modernised version of this *Life* is given in the volume of the *King's Classics* mentioned below. The *Life* by Cresacre More (see 'Home Life') is an untrustworthy and rhetorical expansion of Roper's account. In his *Tres Thomae* (seventeenth century) Stapleton gives a life of More from a Roman Catholic point of view. An interesting account of More's connexion with the humanist movement, and with Erasmus, Colet, and others, will be found in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*. Sir James Mackintosh's *Life of More* (1844) is not up to date chronologically, but contains much that is suggestive and valuable. The same may be said of *The Lives of the Chancellors* (1845), by Lord John Campbell (himself a Chancellor). Biographical notices are given in several modern editions of the *Utopia*, and in various cyclopaedias, etc. An imaginary account of the 'Household of Sir Thomas More' has been written by Miss Manning. For Erasmus the *Life* by Froude might be consulted, or Hallam's *History of Literature*. It will be noticed that the date of More's birth is given by older writers as 1480. The true date has been fixed by a document discovered not many years ago by Mr W. Aldis Wright in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The history of this period and the personality of Sir Thomas More have during several centuries afforded an arena for fierce contention. It is indeed impossible to

touch on the subject, however lightly, without revealing convictions which go far deeper than any question of merely historical or literary interest. It is therefore advisable not to view the subject from the standpoint of only one writer. In the vast majority of readers the sanity, candour, and liberality of such writers as Seebohm and Mackintosh will awaken deep sympathy ; but it may be well to see what Father Bridgett has to say. And although Green's account is, I think, remarkable for its fairness, it should be remembered that there is another—though perhaps somewhat imaginative—side to the question. Thus Froude asserts that after Henry had divorced Catharine 'the English Catholics armed, and waited only for the landing of arms and men from Holland.' Henry, he says, was in real danger, especially as the Lutherans were treating with the Pope for re-admission to the Roman Church. Bishop Fisher, with whom More was so intimately associated, 'unhappily for himself had gone into the worst kind of treason (there is no doubt of it now since the publication of Chapuy's despatches), urging the introduction of an invading Catholic force as the only means of saving England for the Church. The Catholic preparations were well known to Henry, if not the names of the actual leaders. . . .' And just at this moment Pope Paul gives Bishop Fisher a Cardinal's hat !

If this were true, Froude would have been not very wrong in believing that a civil war was avoided by Henry's 'peremptory resolution to execute a few ring-leaders—otherwise good men—a resolution at once most piteous and most inevitable.' And whatever we may think of Henry VIII., and of all the bloody acts that

defiled the courts of monarchs and pontiffs in that age, we should not forget that More's execution was not an *illegal* act. Refusal to acknowledge the King as Supreme Head of the Church in England was defined as high treason by the Act of Supremacy. Henry was consistent in his assertions that Fisher and More did not suffer for their *faith*, but for *treason*. He even committed the rather undignified act of writing to the Pope in order to assert this fact.

MORE'S HOME LIFE.

Probably between 1501 and 1505 (though this period is rather obscure) More had thoughts of becoming a priest, and 'gave himself to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, religiously living there without vow about four years.' He seems to have had lodgings in or near the old Charterhouse (Carthusian monastery) together with Lily, who had lately returned from the East and Italy. Here he is said to have practised severe asceticism—fastings and floggings and a bed of bare boards—and that he thus acquired, or had naturally, a bent to mortifications of the flesh seems proved by the 'shirt of hair' which he wore all the rest of his life, and which is said still to exist as a 'relic'; for More has of late years been 'beatified.' Why he abandoned the design of becoming priest or monk is not certain. The scathing remark of Erasmus that More preferred to be a 'chaste husband rather than an impure priest' would seem to show what were their experiences of the monastic life; and More was doubtless influenced by the counsels of

his friends Colet, Linacre, and Lily, who were no less aware than was Erasmus of the grotesque caricature of Christianity presented by the Papal Church. Colet advised More's marriage. Lily married, probably before More. Possibly, too, More was influenced by the example of Pico di Mirandola, whose extraordinary but credulous genius he so much admired, and who, retiring in disgust from intellectual triumphs and from the heinous immorality of the Borgian papacy, had attached himself to the excommunicated reformer Savonarola, and had to the last refused to become a monk.

Both Roper and Erasmus say that More renounced the priesthood because he fell in love. Roper tells a story which—in spite of his long intimacy with the family—seems almost incredible, viz., that of three sisters More's mind 'most served him to the second,' but that, considering 'it would be both great grief and some shame also to the eldest to see her younger sister preferred before her,' he 'framed his fancy toward' Jane Colt and soon after married her. However that may be, the marriage was a happy one. Three daughters and a son were born between 1505 and 1510. The family lived at Bucklersbury, a street or quarter of London between Wallbrook and the Cheap. Here Erasmus was a guest of the young couple in 1505, and again in 1509. This period was perhaps disturbed by external anxieties (see chron. summary), and in 1510 or 1511 a great sorrow befell the family in the death of the mother. With four children, the eldest five years old, he felt it necessary to supply her place, and he did so soon. According to Cresacre More, he was commissioned to woo Alice Middleton—perhaps a widow—for a friend

but 'she bade him speak for himself,' which he did. From what Erasmus says, and from the description that Roper gives of her visit to More in the Tower and her meeting his earnest words with her '*Tilly-vally*' (cf. *Twelfth Night*, II. 3), we can form a distinct conception of her, and cannot wonder that Erasmus felt now and then as if he had 'outstayed his welcome with her.' But More never showed, if he felt, any irritation with her; he never ceased to speak and to write to her about higher things, in spite of all her *Tilly-vallies*. 'No husband,' says Erasmus, 'ever gained so much obedience from a wife as More has won by gentleness and pleasantry.' During these years More was working exceedingly hard at his profession as Benchet, Under-sheriff, and Reader in law, and at home he was engaged with literary work—with Pico di Mirandola's *Life* and with a *History of Richard III.* (possibly a translation from a Latin original by Cardinal Morton). No wonder that with all this, and with his music and his family duties, he had to limit his sleep, and to rise at 2 a.m. His letters (mostly in Latin) to his children and to their tutors give many glimpses of his happy family life. 'I hear,' he writes, 'that you are so far advanced in astronomy that you can not only point out the polar star or the dog star, or any of the constellations, but are able also—which requires a skilful and profound astronomer—to distinguish the sun from the moon.' 'I assure you,' he writes to Margaret, 'that rather than allow my children to grow up ignorant and idle I would sacrifice all, and bid farewell to business, in order to attend them—among whom none is more dear to me than you, my beloved daughter.' In another letter to

her he says playfully, 'Do not ask for money with such bashfulness and timidity, since you are asking from a father who is eager to give. . . . The sooner you spend this money and ask for more, the more sure you will be of pleasing me.' In letters to a tutor of his children (Gunnell) he gives most careful directions about their education, and strongly advocates the higher education of women—not quite what is sometimes advocated nowadays (indeed he seems to deprecate professional rivalry with men, in spite of the women-priests and women-warriors of the *Utopia*) but that learning, especially that classical learning, of the day which was for women the only educational alternative to music and needlework. More's daughters—the 'Moricae'—were known, even on the Continent, as Latin scholars. Latin was for them a common medium in writing, and much of the conversation in the family seems to have been carried on in that language, except perhaps when the stepmother was present, for she was no scholar.

About 1514, it is thought, More moved his home from Bucklersbury to Crosby Place, Bishopsgate. Possibly this took place some years later—about the date of the *Utopia*—and possibly Crosby Place merely supplied a *pied-à-terre* while he was building his house at Chelsea. The year in which he finally removed to his new house in Chelsea is said to have been 1523; but if Erasmus was (as stated) in England for the last time in 1517, as he describes this Chelsea house, I suppose that this 'mansion,' capable of holding a family of 21 as well as several other inmates, took a long time to build; or perhaps a smaller house was occupied by More at first, and by 1523 additional quarters had been built.

The following is an extract from a letter of Erasmus (about 1517-8) to his adversary of later days, the Imperial laureate and blatant advocate of Lutheranism, Ulrich von Hutten :

‘ More is of middle height, well shaped ; complexion pale, without a touch of colour in it, save when the skin flushes. The hair is black shot with yellow, or yellow shot with black ; beard scanty, eyes grey with dark spots—an eye supposed in England to indicate genius, and to be never found except in remarkable men. The expression is pleasant and cordial, easily passing into a smile, for he has the quickest sense of the ridiculous of any man I ever met. The only sign of rusticity is in the hands, which are slightly coarse. He is careless in what he eats. I never saw a man more so. Like his father, he is a water-drinker. His food is beef, fresh or salt, bread, milk, fruit, and especially eggs. His voice is low and unmusical, though he loves music ; but it is clear and penetrating. He articulates slowly and distinctly, and never hesitates. He dresses plainly ; no silks, or velvets, or gold chains. He has no concern for ceremony, expects none from others, and shows little himself. He holds forms and courtesies unworthy of a man of sense, and for that reason has hitherto kept clear of the Court. . . . He is a true friend. Gambling of all kinds, balls, dice, and such like, he detests. None of that sort are to be found about him. His talk is charming, full of fun, but never scurrilous or malicious. He used to act plays when young ; wit delights him, though at his own expense ; he writes smart epigrams ; he set me on my *Encomium Moriæ*. It was like setting a camel to dance, but he can make fun of anything. He

is wise with the wise, and jests with fools—with women specially, and his wife among them. He is fond of animals of all kinds, and likes to watch their habits. All the birds in Chelsea come to him to be fed. He has a menagerie of tame beasts, a monkey, a fox, a ferret, and a weasel. He buys any singular thing which is brought to him. His house is a magazine of curiosities, which he delights in showing off. His original wish was to be a priest himself. He prepared for it with fast, and prayer, and vigil, unlike most, who rush into ordination without preparation of any kind. He gave it up because he fell in love, and he thought a chaste husband was better than an *impurus sacerdos*. The wife that he chose was a very young lady, well connected but wholly uneducated, who had been brought up in the country with her parents. Thus he was able to shape her character after his own pattern. He taught her books. He taught her music, and formed her into a companion for his life. Unhappily she was taken from him by death before her time. She bore him several children: three daughters, Margaret, Cecilia, and Louisa (Elizabeth), who are still with him, and one son, John. A few months after he had buried her he married a widow to take care of them. This lady, he often said with a laugh, was neither young nor pretty (*nec bella nec puella*); but she was a good manager, and he lived as pleasantly with her as if she had been the loveliest of maidens. He rules her with jokes and caresses better than most husbands do with sternness and authority, and though she has a sharp tongue and is a thrifty housekeeper, he has made her learn harp, cithern, and guitar, and practise before him every day.

‘He controls his family with the same easy hand: no tragedies, no quarrels. If a dispute begins it is promptly settled. He has never made an enemy nor become an enemy. His whole house breathes happiness, and no one enters it who is not the better for the visit. He troubles neither his parents nor his children with excess of attention, but he neglects no duty to either. He is indifferent to money. For a time he was a judge in civil causes. No judge finished off more causes or was more upright, and he often remitted the fees. He was exceedingly liked in the city. Eventually he was forced upon a foreign mission, and conducted himself so well that the King would not afterwards part with him, and dragged him into the circle of the Court. “Dragged” is the word, for no one ever struggled harder to gain admission there than More struggled to escape. But the King was bent on surrounding himself with the most capable men in his dominions. He insisted that More should make one of them, and now he values him so highly, both as a companion and as a Privy Councillor, that he will scarcely let him out of his sight.’

In another and later letter Erasmus says: ‘More has built himself a house by the Thames, near London, neither palatial nor mean, not grand enough to excite envy, but comfortable. Here he lives in delightful fellowship with his wife, his son and daughter-in-law, his three married daughters and his eleven grandchildren. I doubt whether there lives any other so fond of his children. He makes no distinction between young and aged. Old as his wife is, he loves and cherishes her as if she were a maid of fifteen. His nature is such

that he even finds happiness in unfortunate events, if they are unavoidable. You might say of him that he presides over a second Academy, like that of Plato, only that instead of geometry and figures you meet there the domestic virtues. All the members of his household find occupation. No harsh word is uttered, but discipline is maintained by courtesy and kindness.'

For about thirteen years (1518-31) More was in high favour with Henry VIII.—received knighthood, was sent on embassies, and was made at last Lord High Chancellor. During the first half of this period—about 1525—he was very much incommoded by the king's importunate familiarity—being 'dragged to court,' and sometimes unable to visit his own home for a whole month, so that at last he had to feign stupidity in order to escape. Not only had he to play the wit at the royal supper table, and to spend long hours in the king's private 'traverse' discussing science, philosophy and theology, or to be taken up at night on to the 'leads' of the palace to explain the 'courses and operations of the stars and planets,' but even at his Chelsea home he was not safe from sudden invasion, and had to endure the caressing arm of the king laid round his neck while walking to and fro in his garden, conscious all the time that if this fondled head of his 'would win his Grace a castle in France, it should not fail to go.'

It was probably about this time that, 'a good distance from his mansion house, he builded a place, called the New building, wherein was a chapel, a library and a gallery.' Here he spent much time—especially on Fridays.

In the epitaph¹ which, in the summer of 1532, after resigning the Great Seal, More 'caused to be written upon his tomb of stone' which he had erected in Chelsea Church, he tells how almost from childhood he had always longed to devote the last part of his life to freedom from earthly cares and to thoughts of heaven. The three years that were granted him were scarcely such as he had hoped for.

But in one thing he was blessed above all beatitude that length of days or papal bulls can give—in the love of his dear child, his Margaret, whom he had, happier than Orpheus, received back from the very pit of Acheron.²

Neither in history nor in fiction is to be found anything more beautiful and touching than what is told of Margaret and her father during the last sad year of his life. How she came again and again to visit him in the Tower, and to entreat him with tears to accept this Act of Supremacy—to give his oath as others had done—to overcome this 'scruple' of his, as he had done in the matter of the Succession; and how he ever again answered that his 'conscience' would not allow³ him to swear 'without the jeoparding of his soul to perpetual damnation'; and how he, with his old humour,

¹ In the Latin verses appended to this prose epitaph he uses the tender diminutive '*uxorcula*' when speaking of his first wife—a word which is in itself a monument of his love.

² See on 134. 9.

³ 'May he continue
Long in his Highness' favour and do justice
For truth's sake and his conscience.'

(*Hen. VIII.*, end of Act. 3.)

would try to cheer her with his jests, and call her his Eve that came to tempt him with her apple—all this should be read in the letters of Margaret and her father.¹

At length the day came (July 1, 1535) when he was summoned for trial before the King's Bench at Westminster Hall; and judgment was given against him.

‘When Sir Thomas More came from Westminster to the Tower-ward again, his daughter my wife, desirous to see her father, whom she thought she should never see in this world after, and also to have his final blessing, gave attendance about the Tower wharf, where she knew he should pass by, ere he could enter into the Tower. There tarrying for his coming home, as soon as she saw him, after his blessings on her knees reverently received, she, hastening towards him without consideration or care for herself, pressing in among the midst of the throng and the Company of the Guard, that with halbards and bills were round about him, hastily ran to him and there openly in the sight of all them embraced and took him about the neck and kissed him, who, well liking her most daughterly love and affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing and many godly words of comfort besides; from whom after she was departed, she not satisfied with the former sight of her dear father, having respect neither to herself nor to the press of the people and multitude that were about him, suddenly turned back again and ran to him as before, took him about the neck, and divers times together most lovingly kissed him, and at last with a full heavy heart was fain to depart from him; the beholding whereof

¹These, as well as Roper's *Life of More*, may be found in a little volume of the ‘King's Classics,’ price 1s. 6d.

was to many of them that were present thereat so lamentable, that it made them for very sorrow to mourn and weep.'

The last letter¹ that More—on the day before his death—wrote to his daughter, contains these words: 'I never liked your manner toward me better than when you kissed me last: for I love when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy. Farewell, my dear child, and pray for me, as I shall for you, that we may merrily meet in heaven.'

It is not certain whether More's body was ever removed from the Tower to the tomb in Chelsea Church.² There is a story (told by Stapleton, a Roman Catholic writer, in his *Tres Thomae*) that Margaret bribed the man whose duty it was to throw the head into the river, after it had been exposed on London Bridge, and like Sir Walter Raleigh's wife, or Isabella in Keats' poem, 'kept it most reverently while she lived, in spite of injunctions from the Council to surrender it.' Sir James Mackintosh says, 'she desired that the head might be buried with her,' and he thinks this was done. She died in 1544, thirty-four years before her husband. It is not known if she is buried at Chelsea or at St. Dunstan's in Canterbury. Her name will doubtless live as long as the name of Antigone or Cordelia. Tennyson has placed her among the 'Fair Women' of his dream.

' Morn broadened on the borders of the dark
Ere I saw her who clasped in her last trance
Her murdered father's head.'

¹ This, as another short letter of More's to Margaret, was written 'with a coal.'

² Notice Shakespeare's or Fletcher's strange expression, 'a tomb of orphans' tears' (*Hen. VIII.*, end of Act 3).

MORE'S PORTRAITS AND HIS FAMILY CIRCLE.

The only authentic portraits of More are by Hans Holbein (the younger). Hans and his brother, natives of Augsburg, had settled at Basel. Here he became celebrated for his frescos, paintings, and woodcuts. He illustrated Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (about 1511), and, doubtless through Erasmus' recommendation, devised the illustrations for the edition of the *Utopia* printed at Basel in 1518, viz. an elaborate woodcut of the Island (copied from the rough cut in the first edition, with the figures of More, Hythloday, and Giles added), a fine title-page with a curious picture of Lucretia stabbing herself before Collatinus, and a woodcut of the four friends conversing in the garden at Antwerp, John Clement (8. 10) being the fourth. About 1525 Erasmus sent his own portrait, painted by Holbein in 1523 (now at Longford Castle), to England—probably to More—and in spite of More's discouragement ('Thy painter is a wonderful artist, but I fear he will not find England as fruitful as he hopes') he induced Holbein to visit England, and wrote (Aug. 1526) to Giles at Antwerp begging him to receive the painter hospitably. And doubtless Holbein was glad to leave Basel, infested as it was then by the plague, and by the excesses of Papists, Lutherans and Zwinglians. It was in the autumn of 1526, probably after finishing his masterpiece, the Darmstadt Madonna (of which the still more beautiful Dresden Madonna is believed to be a replica by his hand), that Holbein made his way via Antwerp to England, where he remained nearly two years, probably as More's guest at Chelsea. During this

visit (he was later court-painter to Henry VIII.) he seems to have painted in oils several portraits of More. (See Evelyn's *Diary*, Feb. 1649.) Of these only one is known to exist, although formerly various pictures, some of them by Holbein (*e.g.* one of Sir Thos. Wyatt in the Louvre), were mistaken for portraits of More.

This one genuine oil portrait is at Wykehurst Park, the Sussex residence of Mr. Edward Huth. It is half-length and life-size. More is leaning against a table on which the date 1527 is legible. He wears a square black cap, a dark green cloak, crimson sleeves, a deep fur collar, and a magnificent gold chain with SS links and rose pendant—said to be a Lancastrian badge instituted by Henry IV., perhaps More's badge as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. [Erasmus notes 'he wore no silks or velvets or gold chains.' But see Roper's account of More's arrival at the Tower.] The face is clean-shaved. [Later he wore a beard; Erasmus notes 'a short beard,' and at his execution More removed it from the block lest it should be cut, saying that 'his beard at least had committed no treason.'] Mr. Huth tells me that this picture 'is said to have belonged to Henry VIII., and to have been taken down and thrown out of a window by Anne Boleyn.' Holbein's sketch (in coloured chalks) for this picture is among the eighty-seven Holbein sketches at Windsor. In the National Portrait Gallery there is a good anonymous oil portrait of More taken from this sketch.

Besides the Windsor sketch and Mr. Huth's picture the only other genuine portrait of More by Holbein is believed to be in the 'Basel sketch'—a life-size sketch for an oil painting made by Holbein of the More family.

The original painting is lost. Possibly Holbein took it to Basel, as well as the sketch, as a present to Erasmus from More. A copy, possibly a replica, exists at Nostall Priory, Yorkshire. Several copies of the sketch are in private hands, but the one in the Basel Museum is thought to be the original.

It represents (1) Sir Thomas and (2) his old father seated. To their left stand :

3. John, More's son (b. 1509)—'with a very foolish aspect,' say some (rightly, it seems to me)—with 'gentle reflective face,' according to others. John was of 'very slender capacity,' according to Dibdin. More's wife had wished for a boy, it is said, and More comforted her by the remark that she now had one who would remain a boy all his life. But Erasmus dedicated an edition of Aristotle to him. He married Anne Cresacre, and his grandson Cresacre More wrote a Life of Sir Thomas, fuller but not so trustworthy as Roper's.

4. Henry (Harry) Pattensen, the house-jester (*morio*). In Margaret's letter to her step-sister Lady Alice (see 'Life of More' in *King's Classics*, p. 144) he is mentioned as having wondered why Sir Thomas wouldn't 'swear the oath,' since he had sworn it himself!

5. Then, kneeling at a desk, Alice, Lady More, the stepmother. Over her head in the original sketch Holbein has written 'soll sitzen' (should sit), and in some later copies she is represented sitting. Crouching behind her is the 'marmoset.' (See 107. 6 and 'More's Home Life.')

6. Seated, apparently on the floor, in front of the desk, is the youngest daughter Cicely, who married Giles Heron.

7. Seated similarly, still more in the foreground, is More's eldest and much-loved daughter, Margaret, who married William Roper about 1525. (Roper and his wife, as all the other married members of the family, together with various other inmates, seem to have inhabited More's spacious house at Chelsea. Roper, in his *Life of More*, says he lived 'sixteen years and more in his house'—from 1519 till 1535, at first probably as tutor.) Margaret holds a book in her hand—Seneca's *Oedipus*.

8. In the background between Sir Thomas and his father stands (probably) Anne Cresacre, afterward John's wife, at this time a girl of about fifteen.

9. To the right of old Sir John stands Margaret Gigs, marked by Holbein as 'cognata,' *i.e.* a connexion of the family. She was educated with More's daughters, and married his 'boy Clement' (see on 8. 10).

10. Further left stands Elizabeth, More's second daughter, afterwards Elizabeth Dancy.

The room in which this family group is represented is evidently the hall of More's Chelsea mansion. In the background is a heavy cabinet or buffet with vases, etc. A lute hangs on the wall, and a clock—an old-fashioned thing with no pendulum and with two weights, such as one sees in museums. Through a door one sees a man writing—possibly William Roper, or the tutor Gunnell.

MORE AS WRITER.

The titles and dates of More's writings are given in the Chronological Summary, and about most of

them something has been said elsewhere (see Notes). His polemical writings, Latin and English, directed against 'heretics,' are perhaps, like many of Milton's prose works, best consigned to oblivion. The only apology that has ever been made for them—and that is worse than none—is that 'More met heresy with an energy inspired no less by his love of *freedom of thought* than by his love for his country' (Bridgett).

More's *History of Edward V. and the Usurpation of Richard III.* (the Latin original of which is perhaps by Cardinal Morton) Green calls 'the first historical work of any literary value which we possess in our modern prose.' [For the decline of English literature after Chaucer see Green's *Shorter Hist.* VI. 3, and for prose writers before More see under Caxton, Wyclif, Tyndale, etc.] More may be therefore considered the first Englishman who wrote the history of his country in its native language. Mackintosh, who justly praises the speeches of More's history as 'dramatic and characteristic of the persons,' points out that More's vocabulary is even more truly English than that of many later writers, who affected Latinisms, but that his construction is 'a continued (and generally unsuccessful) experiment to discover the forms into which the language naturally runs.' Of More's English writings probably his letters—especially his letters to Margaret—will survive longest.

His Latin, though not equal to that of Erasmus, is rich in vocabulary and idiom. It is not the Latin of the Golden Age. It is somewhat affected by the colloquial Latin jargon of the Middle Ages, which, though it generally disregarded the ancient grammar

and idiom, gained (like modern Greek) great flexibility and vivacity as a living language. This colloquial Latin, used commonly among educated persons and useful as a kind of 'Esperanto,' together with the more correct Latin which for centuries was regarded as the only worthy medium for literature, was in More's age beginning to disappear before the New Learning, which introduced Greek scholarship and 'Ciceronian' Latin, and before the dawn of new national literatures—the morning star of which, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, had long ago arisen.

More's oratory has been much admired. Mackintosh well compares it with the grand but rather unpremeditated art of old Cato, who lived about a century before Cicero. More's success as pleader and debater was conspicuous on not a few occasions. Roper gives us his Address as Speaker in 1523. 'His eloquent tongue,' says Erasmus, 'so well seconds his fertile invention, that no one speaks better when suddenly called upon. . . . His mind is always before his words, and his memory has all its stock turned into ready money.'

MORE AND PLATO.

More refers frequently to Plato, and borrows the general conception of an ideal State and many details from him.¹ But his *Utopia* differs from Plato's *Republic* in some essential points.

¹ See Notes. He draws mostly from the *Republic* and the *Laus* of Plato. The translation and analysis of the *Republic* by Davies and Vaughan might be consulted. It should be noticed

(A) Plato's Republic is a military aristocracy. It is only the two higher classes (Rulers and Protectors) who are carefully trained and allowed community of goods and of wives, obtaining thus freedom from domestic troubles and money-making, so that they may be lifted above all sordid cares and devote themselves to politics and war, while the 'producers' are contemptuously left to the struggle for existence and to menial drudgery. In Utopia, while war, hunting, the butcher's trade and other such degrading occupations are 'reject to bondmen,' manual work, such as agriculture, is not only regarded as honourable but is exacted as a duty from all except a few officials and scholars: the 'producers' are the one important class in the Utopian democracy.

(B) Plato's ideal citizen is, above all other things, a fighter: war, with its martial training and exercises, is the breath of his nostrils. The Utopian ideal is peace—at any honourable price. War is regarded as 'a thing very beastly,' and when necessary it is, if possible, carried on by means of mercenaries, of whom—so do the Utopians loathe the mere fighter—the more killed the better. [The many inconsistencies in this peace-loving democracy founded by the warrior King Utopus are pointed out in the notes.]

(C) With Plato the family is ignored. Marriages are arranged and controlled by the State. Of the two upper classes—for the mass of workers is beneath such legislation—'no one,' says Socrates, 'shall have a wife

that Socrates (or Plato) takes human nature with its tripartite division into Reason, Courage and Desire, as the model, or microcosm, after which he builds up his State with its two nobler classes and the lower class of 'producers.'

of his own; they shall have wives in common, and the children shall be common (taken away as infants), so that the parent shall not know the child nor the child the parent.' In Utopia (80. 11, etc.), although the State interferes to some extent, the family is the foundation-stone of the social fabric. Although Plato allows women equality with men in many respects (his State being rather Spartan than Athenian) he degrades the relations of the sexes to those of a stock-farm, while in Utopia every mother nurses her own child (84. 18), and the Utopian family life is almost a reflex of More's own home life. He even allows the woman to act as official and as priest, and to stand by her husband and sons on the battlefield. Doubtless he would have allowed her a vote, if she had wished for it, as he allowed her (not only in Utopia but in his own family) the highest form of education. But he apparently disapproves of all masculinity and aggressive competition with men, as much as he does of idleness (76. 29), and apportions to women the physically lighter occupations—*e.g.* cooking, (84. 3). In the Utopian family there is almost 'patria potestas'—the parental, or rather the paternal, rule being cheerfully recognised. Indeed the father acts as confessor instead of the priest (139. 15)—a most admirable arrangement.

(D) Utopian ethics are founded on a higher Epicureanism and not on Platonic moral philosophy. See on 95. 11.

(E) In comparison with the *Republic*, the *Utopia* lacks earnestness. Plato indeed allows that, in order to realise his ideal State, we must have philosophers as rulers, and that philosophers generally resign political

in disgust. This seems to harmonize with More's satire on princes and their counsellors, but it is remarkable that Plato did actually attempt to realise his main idea (see on 42. 17), whereas More confessed that his was unrealisable (147. 10), and his life and his death seem to prove that his advocacy of much that is noble in the Utopian state (such as religious toleration) was not sincere.

(F) Plato's communism is vaguely propounded, and is a mere detail affecting the two upper classes. In Utopia it is the basis of the constitution.

(G) Plato banishes all art (on the ground that it is *imitative*) and allows neither poetry nor music (as exciting fictitious emotions) except hymns to the gods and eulogies of heroes. For art and music in Utopia see 75. 30, 76. 4, p. 141, etc., and More's friendship with Holbein, and his own love of music, should be remembered. Though the houses and churches are 'gorgeous' (71. 3, 138. 14), no personal adornment is allowed. The clothes are all of one cut and colour (p. 79). Golden chains are only used by criminals, and gems and trinkets by children. Science and medicine and 'contemplation of nature' hold a worthy place in Utopia, while with Plato, although the 'study of real existence' (philosophy) is strongly advocated, science (in our sense of the word) and nature-contemplation are rather disdainfully ignored. In Utopia the 'free liberty and garnishing of the mind' is an end to be aimed at, and lecturers are much in vogue—lecturers much like the sophists on whom Plato pours ridicule. In regard to amusements, both Plato and More agree that they should serve to some useful purpose (74. 3, etc. In

Laws 643 Plato recommends Kindergarten toys). With the Greeks athletics and the practice of arms were in favour; in Utopia hunting and hawking are left for bondmen; martial exercises (117. 26) are only practised for necessity's sake, 'foolish and pernicious games' (76. 7) are taboo—including evidently such 'naughty, lewd, and unlawful' games as tennis, bowls and quoits (31. 1).

Both in the *Utopia* and in the *Republic* what is apt to strike most readers is the tendency towards a dead level of monotonous mediocrity. These ideal states remind one of bee-hives and ant-heaps. Indeed there seems in all socialistic programmes a tendency to something like inorganic granulation—something in which there is no organic differentiation. 'Progress' not seldom proves to be relapse. Surely none of us is looking forward to a millennium in which passports will again be necessary (86. 15) and in which he will not be allowed to take a country walk unless he obtains 'the goodwill of his father and the consent of his wife'—as was the case in Utopia (87. 5).

Besides what he borrows from Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, More was probably indebted to the *Timæus* or the *Critias* for the idea of an island of Utopia. According to an old legend, which Plato asserts to have been related by Egyptian priests to the Athenian lawgiver Solon, the island Atlantis in the great Western Ocean was a kind of Earthly Paradise. The inhabitants invaded Europe and Africa but were defeated, and becoming impious were swallowed up by the sea together with their island.

Bacon places his 'New Atlantis' in the Pacific. His

work is only a fragment, and its chief interest lies in the description of 'Solomon's House,' a scientific 'model College for the interpreting of nature and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men.'

Among other books that have more or less similarity to the *Utopia*, in subject if not in treatment, one may mention Johnson's *Rasselas*, Voltaire's *Candide*, Swift's *Gulliver*, Harrington's *Oceana* (1656), Lord Lytton's *Coming Race*, Butler's *Erewhon*, W. Morris' *News from Nowhere*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*.

MORE AND THE REFORMATION.

No reader can fail to be struck with the great number of important social, political, and other questions¹ which are treated in the *Utopia*—many of them with wonderful insight and prevision. But still more striking, and exceedingly puzzling, is More's treatment of religious questions. In many cases he gives an apparently serious approval to what as an orthodox Roman Catholic he must have regarded as rank heresy—

¹ See Green's *Shorter History*, vi. 4, and Index to *Utopia*. Some of these questions are: agriculture, old soldiers, public health, war, treaties, capitalism, capital punishment, coinage, communism, land question, old-age pensions, divorce, artificial incubation, slaughter-houses, vegetarianism, asceticism, lawyers, reformation of criminals, tramps, money, over-population, 'sweating,' six hours' work-day, central kitchens, servants, water supply, house architecture, education, life-philosophy, legislation, hunting, games, dress. Besides all this there are the many and important religious questions.

what indeed in other writings he assailed as heretical.¹ Very diverse solutions of this puzzle have been proposed. One Roman Catholic commentator, Baumstark, asserts that the theological part of the *Utopia* is plainly anti-christian and should be held up as a warning, while another tells us that, though it was wise of More not to use the vulgar tongue, there is no page of his that deserves to be burned, and that, whatever intellectual convictions he may seem to have held, his real belief 'can only be gathered from his submission to the Church.' Bishop Burnet, the translator of the *Utopia*, asserts on the other hand that the strange inconsistencies between More's creed and his intellectual convictions 'cannot be accounted for but by charging it on the intoxicating charms of that religion that can darken the clearest understandings and corrupt the best natures'; and in Froude's opinion Sir Thomas More lived to illustrate the demoralizing tendencies of Romanism 'in an honest mind convinced of the truth.' Perhaps the safest explanation, though unsatisfactory enough, is that given by Sir James Mackintosh, who tells us² that More 'regarded the theories which he broached in his *Utopia* 'with almost every degree of approbation and assent, from the frontiers of serious and entire belief, through gradations of descending plausibility,' and 'appended certain wild

¹ See Index and Notes for the following subjects: dogma, monastic life, celibacy, fasting, confession, proselytism, religious toleration, civil power and divorce, suicide, euthanasia, women priests, friars, diverse creeds, cremation, images, miracles.

² See also Hallam's *Hist. Lit.* i. iv. 35, and i. vi. 7; and Green, vi. 5, and Morley's *Engl. Lit.* p. 242.

paradoxes as an easy means of disavowing, if necessary, the serious intention of his fiction.' The contrast between More's intellectual convictions (if such they were) and his religion (if such we may call it) is most easily discernible in the astounding difference between the truly Christian liberty, toleration and charity described and apparently warmly recommended by him in his *Utopia* and his own attitude towards those who differed from him in matters of dogma. Not only are his invectives against Tyndale and Luther as fierce and abusive as the diatribes of Milton against Salmasius, but it is undeniable that, even if he did not himself light martyr fires,¹ he consented publicly thereto. That he, as Chancellor, merely acted as executor of the law which condemned heretics to the stake seems to me a defence of no validity except with those who regard heresy as 'a mortal sin no less heinous than murder,' and who would be inclined to palliate even murder if committed 'in the interests of the Church.' And his own words testify against him. 'There should have been more burned by a great many,' he exclaims in his controversy with Tyndale. 'My epitaph shall record,' he writes on another occasion, 'that I have been an enemy to heretics'; and in his epitaph he describes himself as 'an enemy to thieves, murderers and heretics.' Again, when Roper once spoke to him of the happy state of the realm, 'that had so catholic a prince that no

¹ The charges brought against him by the Martyrologist Foxe are probably much exaggerated, if not fictions. Erasmus says that no one was punished capitally during More's Chancellorship; but this is not true.

heretic durst show his face,' he exclaimed 'I pray God that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet as ants, live not the day that we gladly would wish to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be content to let us have ours.'

That the author of the *Utopia* should have thus acted, written and spoken, seems incredible; nor can it be wholly explained by the fact, assumed by many writers, that More's mind underwent a violent revulsion not long after writing his book.

Doubtless a revulsion did take place. Together with Erasmus, Colet, Lily, Grocyn, Linacre and not a few other of his contemporaries (perhaps we should specially mention Pico and Savonarola) More may be well regarded as one who longed for the internal reformation of the Church. There was, as Green says, 'a moral revolt in all more religious minds against the corruption of the Church, and a disgust among all adherents of the New Learning at the prevailing superstition and ignorance.' But the temper of the Renaissance, by which then all finer intellects were affected, was even more hostile to the new dogmatism of Luther than to the old dogmatism of Rome. It was said that 'Erasmus had laid the egg and Luther had hatched it,' but Erasmus well replied that his was a hen's egg and that Luther had hatched a crow's. The events that followed in the wake of the Lutheran revolt—the Peasants' War, the sack of Rome, the imprisonment of the Pope, the Augsburg Diet, the Zwinglian civil war, the Anabaptist horrors, the nearer approach of the Turkish Terror and the first beginnings

of that which is so vividly described by Green as the 'English Terror'—completed the irrevocable divorce of the New Learning from the Reformation, and, as Hallam expresses it, 'More went violently back to the extreme of maintaining the whole fabric of superstition.'

The Roman Church has not unfrequently poured its contempt on the authors of the Reformation for two reasons: first, because in the place of an infallible Church they substituted as infallible a Book that had been compiled and sanctioned by that Church; secondly, because, after inciting revolt by the promise of liberty and the right of private judgment, they at once usurped a dogmatic absolutism as uncompromising, and burnt 'heretics' with an intolerance as zealous, as that of Rome itself.

These charges, which are not easy to rebut, aim directly at the fatal inherent weaknesses of all Reformations that consist merely in a change from one form of spiritual tyranny to another.

By the three friends, Colet, Erasmus and More, says Seebohm in his *Oxford Reformers*, Christianity was accepted not merely as a dogma, but as realisable in practice—in the life of the individual and nation. If this be true, then the spirit that actuated these men was very far from being the spirit of the Lutheran revolt, or the spirit of the Church of Henry VIII. and Thomas Cromwell; it was rather the spirit of that truer Reformation which took place in England some 150 years later, and with which one associates such names as Falkland, Herbert of Cherbury, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, Butler—men who were

distinguished from the ordinary Anglican Churchman 'by their opposition to dogma, by their preference of reason to tradition, whether of the Bible or the Church, by their aiming at rightness of life rather than at correctness of opinion, by their advocacy of toleration and comprehension as the grounds of Christian unity' (Green).

DEDICATORY EPISTLE
BY THE TRANSLATOR OF THE UTOPIA.

To the right honourable, and his very singular good master, Master William Cecil esquire, one of the two principal secretaries to the King his most excellent Majesty, Ralph Robinson wisheth continuance of health, with daily increase of virtue, and honour.

UPON a time, when tidings came to the city of Corinth that King Philip, father to Alexander surnamed the Great, was coming thitherward with an army royal to lay siege to the city, the Corinthians, being forthwith stricken with great fear, began busily and earnestly to look about them and to fall to work of all hands, some to scour and trim up harness, some to carry stones, some to amend and build higher the walls, some to rampier and fortify the bulwarks and fortresses, some one thing and some another for the defending and strengthening of the city. The which busy labour and 10
toil of theirs when Diogenes the philosopher saw, having no profitable business whereupon to set himself on work (neither any man required his labour and help as expedient for the commonwealth in that necessity) immediately girded about him his philosophical cloak and began to roll and tumble up and down hither and thither upon the hill-side, that lieth adjoining to the city, his great barrel or tun, wherein he dwelled; for other dwelling-place would he have none. This seeing one of his friends, and not a little musing thereat, came to him: And I pray thee Diogenes 20
(quoth he) why dost thou thus, or what meanest thou

hereby? Forsooth, I am tumbling my tub too (quoth he) because it were no reason that I only should be idle where so many be working.

In similar manner, right honourable sir, though I be, as I am indeed, of much less ability than Diogenes was to do anything that shall or may be for the advancement and commodity of the public wealth of my native country, yet I, seeing every sort and kind of people in their vocation and degree busily occupied about the commonwealth's affairs,
 10 and especially learned men daily putting forth in writing new inventions and devices to the furtherance of the same, thought it my bounden duty to God and to my country so to tumble my tub, I mean so to occupy and exercise myself in bestowing such spare hours as I, being at the beck and commandment of others, could conveniently win to myself, that though no commodity of that my labour and travail to the public weal should arise, yet it might by this appear that mine endeavour and good-will hereunto was not lacking.

20 To the accomplishment, therefore, and fulfilling of this my mind and purpose, I took upon me to turn and translate out of Latin into our English tongue the fruitful and profitable book which Sir Thomas More knight compiled and made of the new isle Utopia, containing and setting forth the best state and form of a public weal: a work (as it appeareth) written almost forty years ago by the said Sir Thomas More, the author thereof. The which man, forasmuch as he was a man of late time, yea almost of these our days, and for the excellent qualities wherewith the great
 30 goodness of God had plentifully endowed him, and for the high place and room whereunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably well known, not only among us his countrymen but also in foreign countries and nations—therefore I have not much to speak of him. This only I say: that it is much to be lamented of all, and not only of us Englishmen, that a man of so incomparable wit,

of so profound knowledge, of so absolute learning and of so fine eloquence, was yet nevertheless so much blinded, rather with obstinacy than with ignorance, that he could not or rather would not see the shining light of God's holy truth in certain principal points of Christian religion: but did rather choose to persevere and continue in his wilful and stubborn obstinacy even to the very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter pass, I return again to Utopia. Which (as I said before) is a work not only for the matter that it containeth fruitful and 10 profitable, but also for the writer's eloquent Latin style pleasant and delectable. Which he that readeth in Latin, as the author himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same, doubtless he shall take great pleasure and delight both in the sweet eloquence of the writer and also in the witty invention and fine conveyance, or disposition, of the matter: but most of all in the good and wholesome lessons, which be there in great plenty and abundance.

But now I fear greatly that in this my simple translation, through my rudeness and ignorance in our English tongue, 20 all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence wherewith the matter in Latin is finely set forth may seem to be utterly excluded and lost: and therefore the fruitfulness of the matter itself much peradventure diminished and impaired. For who knoweth not, which knoweth anything, that an eloquent style setteth forth and highly commendeth a mean matter, whereas on the other side rude and unlearned speech defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter? According as I heard once a wise man say: A good tale evil told were better untold, and an evil tale well told needeth none other 30 solicitor.

This thing I well pondering and weighing with myself, and also knowing and acknowledging the barbarous rudeness of my translation, was fully determined never to have put it forth in print, had it not been for certain friends of mine, and especially one, whom above all other I regarded,

a man of sage and discreet wit and in worldly matters by long use well experienced, whose name is George Tadow, an honest citizen of London and in the same city well accepted and of good reputation ; at whose request and instance I first took upon my weak and feeble shoulders the heavy and weighty burden of this great enterprise.

This man with divers other, but this man chiefly (for he was able to do more with me, than many other), after that I had once rudely brought the work to an end, ceased not by
10 all means possible continually to assault me, until he had at the last, what by the force of his pithy arguments and strong reasons and what by his authority, so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consent to the imprinting hereof. He therefore, as the chief persuader, must take upon him the danger which upon this bold and rash enterprise shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herein clearly acquitted and discharged of all blame.

Yet, honourable sir, for the better avoiding of envious and malicious tongues, I (knowing you to be a man not only
20 profoundly learned and well affected towards all such as either can or will take pains in the well bestowing of that poor talent which God hath endued them with, but also for your godly disposition and virtuous qualities not unworthily now placed in authority and called to honour) am the bolder humbly to offer and dedicate unto your good mastership this my simple work ; partly that under the safe conduct of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquy of them which can say well by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt judgments, though it be else both
30 fruitful and godly, and partly that by the means of this homely present I may the better renew and revive (which of late, as you know, I have already begun to do) that old acquaintance that was between you and me in the time of our childhood, being then schoolfellows together ; not doubting that you for your native goodness and gentleness will accept in good part this poor gift, as an argument or token

that mine old good-will and hearty affection towards you is not, by reason of long tract of time and separation of our bodies, anything at all quailed and diminished, but rather (I assure you) much augmented and increased.

This verily is the chief cause that hath encouraged me to be so bold with your mastership. Else truly this my poor present is of such simple and mean sort, that it is neither able to recompense the least portion of your great gentleness to me, of my part undeserved, both in the time of our old acquaintance and also now lately again bountifully 10 showed, neither yet fit and meet for the very baseness of it to be offered to one so worthy as you be. But Almighty God (who therefore ever be thanked) hath advanced you to such fortune and dignity, that you be of ability to accept thankfully as well a man's good-will as his gift. The same God grant you and all yours long and joyfully to continue in all godliness and prosperity

LETTER OF THOMAS MORE TO PETER GILES.

(A part of the original Preface to the Utopia.)

Thomas More to Peter Giles sendeth greeting.

I AM almost ashamed, right well-beloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this book of the Utopian Commonwealth, well-nigh after a year's space, which I am sure you looked for within a month and a half. And no marvel. For you knew well enough that I was already disburdened of all the labour and study belonging to the invention in this work, and that I had no need at all to trouble my brains about the disposition or conveyance of the matter, and therefore had herein nothing else to do but only to rehearse those things which
10 you and I together heard Master Raphael tell and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I should study to set forth the matter with eloquence, forasmuch as his talk could not be fine and eloquent, being first not studied for but sudden and unpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better seen in the Greek language than in the Latin tongue. And my writing, the nigher it should approach to his homely, plain and simple speech, so much the nigher should it go to the truth; which is the only mark whereunto I do and ought to direct all my travail and study herein.

20 I grant and confess, friend Peter, myself discharged of so much labour, having all these things ready done to my hand, that almost there was nothing left for me to do. Else either the invention or the disposition of this matter might have required of a wit neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leisure, and also some study. But if it were requisite and necessary that the matter should also have been written eloquently, and not alone truly, of a surety

that thing could I have performed by no time nor study. But now seeing all these cares, stays and lets were taken away, wherein else so much labour and study should have been employed, and that there remained no other thing for me to do but only to write plainly the matter as I heard it spoken—that indeed was a thing light and easy to be done. Howbeit, to the dispatching of this so little business my other cares and troubles did leave almost less than no leisure. Whiles I do daily bestow my time about law matters—some to plead, some to hear, some as an arbitrator 10 with mine award to determine, some as an umpire or a judge with my sentence to discuss—whiles I go one way to see and visit my friend, another way about mine own private affairs—whiles I spend almost all the day abroad among others, and the residue at home among mine own—I leave to myself, I mean to my book, no time.

For when I am come home, I must commune with my wife, chat with my children, and talk with my servants. All the which things I reckon and account among business, forasmuch as they must of necessity be done; and done 20 must they needs be, unless a man will be stranger in his own house. And in any wise a man must so fashion and order his conditions and so appoint and dispose himself, that he be merry, jocund and pleasant among them whom either nature hath provided, or chance hath made, or he himself hath chosen to be the fellows and companions of his life: so that with too much gentle behaviour and familiarity he do not mar them, and by too much sufferance of his servants maketh them his masters. Among these things now rehearsed stealeth away the day, the month, the year. When 30 do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no word of sleep, neither yet of meat, which among a great number doth waste no less time than doth sleep, wherein almost half the lifetime of man creepeth away. I therefore do win and get only that time which I steal from sleep and meat. Which time because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is,

therefore have I once at the last, though it be long first, finished Utopia ; and have sent it to you, friend Peter, to read and peruse, to the intent that, if anything have escaped me, you might put me in remembrance of it. For though in this behalf I do not greatly mistrust myself (which would God I were somewhat in wit and learning, as I am not all of the worst and dullest memory), yet have I not so great trust and confidence in it that I think nothing could fall out of my mind.

- 10 For John Clement my boy, who as you know was there present with us, whom I suffer to be away from no talk wherein may be any profit or goodness—for out of this young-bladed and new shot-up corn, which hath already begun to spring up both in Latin and Greek learning, I look for plentiful increase at length of goodly ripe grain—he, I say, hath brought me into a great doubt. For whereas Hythloday (unless my memory fail me) said that the bridge of Amaurote, which goeth over the river of Anyder, is five hundred paces, that is to say half a mile, in length, my John
20 saith that two hundred of those paces must be plucked away, for that the river containeth there not above three hundred paces in breadth. I pray you heartily call the matter to your remembrance. For if you agree with him, I also will say as you say, and confess myself deceived. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surely I will write as I have done and as mine own remembrance serveth me. For as I will take good heed that there be in my book nothing false, so if there be anything doubtful, I will rather tell a lie than make a lie : because I had rather be good than
30 wily.

Howbeit, this matter may easily be remedied, if you will take the pains to ask the question of Raphael himself by word of mouth, if he be now with you, or else by your letters. Which you must needs do for another doubt also that hath chanced, through whose fault I cannot tell, whether through mine or yours, or Raphael's. For neither

we remembered to inquire of him, nor he to tell us in what part of the new world Utopia is situate. The which thing I had rather have spent no small sum of money than that it should thus have escaped us ; as well for that I am ashamed to be ignorant in what sea that island standeth, whereof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certain men, and especially one virtuous and godly man and a professor of divinity, who is exceeding desirous to go unto Utopia, not for a vain and curious desire to see news, but to the intent he may further and increase our religion, which is 10 there already luckily begun. And that he may the better accomplish and perform this his good intent, he is minded to procure that he may be sent thither by the high bishop ; yea, and that he himself may be made bishop of Utopia, being nothing scrupulous herein, that he must obtain this bishopric with suit. For he counteth that a godly suit which proceedeth not of the desire of honour or lucre, but only of a godly zeal.

Wherefore I most earnestly desire you, friend Peter, to talk with Hythloday, if you can, face to face, or else to write 20 your letters to him, and so to work in this matter that in this my book there may neither anything be found which is untrue, neither anything be lacking which is true. And I think verily it shall be well done that you show unto him the book itself. For if I have missed or failed in any point, or if any fault have escaped me, no man can so well correct and amend it as he can ; and yet that can he not do, unless he peruse and read over my book written. Moreover by this means shall you perceive whether he be well willing and content that I should undertake to put this work in writing. 30 For if he be minded to publish and put forth his own labours and travels himself, perchance he would be loath, and so would I also, that in publishing the Utopian weal public I should prevent him, and take from him the flower and grace of the novelty of this his history.

Howbeit, to say the very truth, I am not yet fully deter-

mined with myself whether I will put forth my book or no. For the natures of men be so diverse, the fantasies of some so wayward, their minds so unkind, their judgments so corrupt, that they which lead a merry and a jocund life, following their own sensual pleasures and carnal lusts, may seem to be in a much better state or case than they that vex and disquiet themselves with cares and study for the putting forth and publishing of something that may be either profit or pleasure to others ; which others nevertheless will disdainfully, scornfully and unkindly accept the same. The most part of all be unlearned. And a great number hath learning in contempt. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing but that which is very barbarous indeed. If it be one that hath a little smack of learning, he rejecteth as homely gear and common ware whatsoever is not stuffed full of old moth-eaten terms, and that be worn out of use. Some there be that have pleasure only in old rusty antiquities. And some only in their own doings. One is so sour, so crabbed and so unpleasant, that he can away with no mirth nor sport. Another is so narrow between the shoulders, that he can bear no jests nor taunts. Some silly poor souls be so afraid that at every snappish word their nose shall be bitten off, that they stand in no less dread of every quick and sharp word than he that is bitten of a mad dog feareth water. Some be so mutable and wavering, that every hour they be in a new mind, saying one thing sitting and another thing standing. Another sort sitteth upon their ale-benches, and there among their cups they give judgment of the wits of writers, and with great authority they condemn, even as pleaseth them, every writer according to his writing, in most spiteful manner mocking, louting and flouting them—being themselves in the mean season safe and, as saith the proverb, out of all danger of gunshot. For why, they be so smug and smooth, that they have not so much as one hair of an honest man whereby one may take hold of them. There be moreover some so unkind and ungentle,

that though they take great pleasure and delectation in the work, yet for all that they cannot find in their hearts to love the author thereof, nor to afford him a good word : being much like uncourteous, unthankful and churlish guests. Which when they have with good and dainty meats well filled their bellies, depart home, giving no thanks to the feast-maker. Go your ways now and make a costly feast at your own charges for guests so dainty-mouthed, so diverse in taste, and besides that of so unkind and unthankful natures !

10

But nevertheless, friend Peter, do I pray you with Hythloday as I willed you before. And as for this matter, I shall be at my liberty afterwards to take new advisement. Howbeit, seeing I have taken great pains and labour in writing the matter, if it may stand with his mind and pleasure, I will as touching the edition or publishing of the book follow the counsel and advice of my friends, and specially yours. Thus fare you well, right heartily beloved friend Peter, with your gentle wife, and love me as you have ever done ; for I love you better than ever I did.

20

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THE FIRST BOOK OF UTOPIA.

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THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

Communication of Raphael Hythloday concerning the Best State of a Commonwealth.

THE most victorious and triumphant King of England, Henry the Eighth of that name, in all royal virtues a prince most peerless, had of late in controversy with Charles, the right high and mighty King of Castile, weighty matters and of great importance. For the debatement and final determination whereof, the King's Majesty sent me ambassador into Flanders, joined in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doubtless out of comparison, and whom the King's Majesty of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls.

10

But of this man's praises I will say nothing, not because I do fear that small credence shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a friend's mouth : but because his virtue and learning be greater, and of more excellence, than that I am able to praise them : and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well known, that they need not nor ought not of me to be praised, unless I would seem to show and set forth the brightness of the sun with a candle, as the proverb saith. There met us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had for that matter 20 appointed commissioners : excellent men all. The chief and the head of them was the Marcgrave (as they call him) of Bruges, a right honourable man : but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Cassel, a man, not only by learning but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the laws profoundly learned : but in

reasoning and debating of matters, what by his natural wit, and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellows. After that we had once or twice met, and upon certain points or articles could not fully and thoroughly agree, they for a certain space took their leave of us, and departed to Brussels, there to know their Prince's pleasure. I in the meantime (for so my business lay) went straight thence to Antwerp.

Whiles I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which to me was more welcome than any other, did visit me
10 one Peter Giles, a citizen of Antwerp, a man there in his country of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say whether the young man be in learning or in honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderful virtuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle : but towards his friends so kind-hearted, so loving, so faithful, so trusty, and of so earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to find a man that with him in all points of friendship may be compared.
20 No man can be more lowly or courteous. No man useth less simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicity. Besides this, he is in his talk and communication so merry and pleasant, yea and that without harm, that through his gentle entertainment, and his sweet and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervent desire that I had to see my native country, my wife and my children, whom then I did much long and covet to see, because that at that time I had been more than four months from them. Upon a certain day, when I had heard
30 the divine service in our Lady's church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious church of building in all the city and also most frequented of people, and the service being done was ready to go home to my lodging, I chanced to espy this foresaid Peter talking with a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders, whom

by his favour and apparel forthwith I judged to be a mariner. But the said Peter, seeing me, came unto me and saluted me.

And as I was about to answer him, See you this man? saith he (and therewith he pointed to the man that I saw him talking with before); I was minded, quoth he, to bring him straight home to you.

He should have been very welcome to me, said I, for your sake.

Nay (quoth he) for his own sake, if you knew him; for 10 there is no man this day living that can tell you of so many strange and unknown peoples, and countries, as this man can. And I know well that you be very desirous to hear of such news.

Then I conjectured not far amiss (quoth I) for even at the first sight I judged him to be a mariner.

Nay (quoth he) there ye were greatly deceived: he hath sailed indeed, not as the mariner Palinurus, but as the expert and prudent prince Ulysses: yea, rather as the ancient and sage philosopher Plato. For this same Raphael 20 Hythloday (for this is his name) is very well learned in the Latin tongue: but profound and excellent in the Greek language. Wherein he ever bestowed more study than in the Latin, because he had given himself wholly to the study of philosophy. Whereof he knew that there is nothing extant in Latin, that is to any purpose, saving a few of Seneca's, and Cicero's doings. His patrimony that he was born unto he left to his brethren (for he is a Portugal born) and, for the desire that he had to see and know the far countries of the world, he joined himself in company with 30 Amerigo Vespucci, and in the three last voyages of those four that be now in print and abroad in every man's hands he continued still in his company, saving that in the last voyage he came not home again with him. For he made such means and shift, what by entreatance and what by importune suit, that he got licence of master Amerigo

(though it were sore against his will) to be one of the twenty-four which in the end of the last voyage were left in the country of Gulike. He was therefore left behind for his mind's sake, as one that took more thought and care for travelling than dying; having customably in his mouth these sayings: 'he that hath no grave is covered with the sky,' and, 'the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance.' Which fantasy of his (if God had not been his better friend) he had surely bought full dear. But
10 after the departing of master Vespucci, when he had travelled through and about many countries with five of his companions Gulikians, at the last by marvellous chance he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chanced to find certain of his country ships, wherein he returned again into his country, nothing less than looked for.

All this when Peter had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindness, that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose communication he thought should
20 be to me pleasant and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to Raphael. And when we had hailed the one the other, and had spoken these common words that be customably spoken at the first meeting and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there in my garden upon a bench covered with green torves we sat down talking together.

There he told us how that, after the departing of Vespucci, he and his fellows that tarried behind in Gulike began by little and little, through fair and gentle speech, to win the love and favour of the people of that country,
30 insomuch that within short space they did dwell amongst them not only harmless, but also occupying with them very familiarly. He told us also that they were in high reputation and favour with a certain great man (whose name and country is now quite out of my remembrance) which of his mere liberality did bear the costs and charges of him and his five companions; and besides that gave

them a trusty guide to conduct them in their journey (which by water was in boats, and by land in waggons) and to bring them to other princes with very friendly commendations. Thus after many days' journeys, he said, they found towns and cities and weal publics, full of people, governed by good and wholesome laws. For under the line equinoctial, and on both sides of the same, as far as the sun doth extend his course, lieth (quoth he) great and wide deserts and wildernesses, parched, burned and dried up with continual and intolerable heat. All things 10 be hideous, terrible, loathsome, and unpleasant to behold: all things out of fashion and comeliness, inhabited with wild beasts and serpents, or at the leastwise with people that be no less savage, wild, and noisome than the very beasts themselves be. But a little farther beyond that all things begin by little and little to wax pleasant: the air soft, temperate, and gentle: the ground covered with green grass: less wildness in the beasts. At the last shall ye come again to people, cities, and towns wherein is continual intercourse and occupying of merchandise and 20 chaffer, not only among themselves and with their borderers, but also with merchants of far countries, both by land and water.

There I had occasion (said he) to go to many countries of every side. For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey but I and my fellows were into it very gladly received. The ships that they found first were made plain, flat and broad in the bottom, trough-wise. The sails were made of great rushes, or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with 30 ridged keels, and sails of canvas, yea and, shortly after, having all things like ours: the shipmen also very expert and cunning, both in the sea and in the weather. But he said that he found great favour and friendship among them for teaching them the feat and the use of the loadstone, which to them before that time was unknown. And

therefore they were wont to be very timorous and fearful upon the sea, not to venture upon it but only in the summer time. But now they have such a confidence in that stone that they fear not stormy winter : in so doing farther from care than danger ; insomuch that it is greatly to be doubted lest that thing, through their own foolish hardiness, shall turn them to evil and harm, which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious.

But what he told us that he saw in every country where
10 he came, it were very long to declare ; neither is it my purpose at this time to make rehearsal thereof. But peradventure in another place I will speak of it, chiefly such things as shall be profitable to be known, as in special be those decrees and ordinances that he marked to be well and wittily provided and enacted among such peoples as do live together in a civil policy and good order. For of such things did we busily inquire and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no news,
20 of them we were nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found than be barking Scyllas, ravening Celaenos, and Laestrygonians devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters. But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish laws in those new found lands, so he rehearsed divers acts and constitutions whereby these our cities, nations, countries, and kingdoms may take example to amend their faults, enormities, and errors. Whereof in
30 another place (as I said) I will entreat.

Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only that he told us of the manners, customs, laws, and ordinances of the Utopians. But first I will repeat our former communication, by the occasion and (as I might say) the drift whereof he was brought into the mention of that weal public.

For when Raphael had very prudently touched divers things that be amiss, some here and some there, yea very many on both parts, and again had spoken of such wise laws and prudent decrees as be established and used, both here among us and also there among them, as a man so perfect and expert in the laws and customs of every several country, as though into what place soever he came guest-wise, there he had led all his life: then Peter, much marvelling at the man: Surely Master Raphael (quoth he) I wonder greatly why you get you not into some king's 10 court. For I am sure there is no prince living that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to delight him with your profound learning, and this your knowledge of countries and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples, and help him with counsel. And thus doing you shall bring yourself in a very good case, and also be of ability to help all your friends and kinsfolk.

As concerning my friends and kinsfolk (quoth he) I pass not greatly for them. For I think I have sufficiently 20 done my part towards them already. For these things that other men do not depart from until they be old and sick, yea which they be then very loath to leave when they can no longer keep, those very same things did I, being not only lusty and in good health but also in the flower of my youth, divide among my friends and kinsfolk. Which I think with this my liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to look that besides this I should for their sakes give myself in bondage unto kings. 30

Nay, God forbid that (quoth Peter); it is not my mind that you should be in bondage to kings, but as a retainer to them at your pleasure. Which surely I think is the nighest way that you can devise how to bestow your time fruitfully, not only for the private commodity of your friends and for the general profit of all sorts of people, but also for the

advancement of yourself to a much wealthier state and condition than you be now in.

To a wealthier condition (quoth Raphael) by that means that my mind standeth clean against? Now I live at liberty after my own mind and pleasure, which I think very few of these great states and peers of realms can say. Yea and there be enough of them that sue for great men's friendships: and therefore think it no great hurt, if they have not me, nor three or four such other as I am.

- 10 Well, I perceive plainly friend Raphael (quoth I) that you be desirous neither of riches nor of power. And truly I have in no less reverence and estimation a man of your mind than any of them all that be so high in power and authority. But you shall do as it becometh you, yea and according to this wisdom, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can find in your heart so to appoint and dispose yourself that you may apply your wit and diligence to the profit of the weal public, though it be somewhat to your own pain and hindrance. And this shall you never so well do,
20 nor with so great profit perform, as if you be of some great prince's council, and put into his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions and virtuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual well-spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil. But in you is so perfect learning that without any experience, and again so great experience that without any learning, you may well be any king's counsellor.

- You be twice deceived, Master More (quoth he), first in me, and again in the thing itself. For neither is in me the
30 ability that you force upon me, and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine own quietness I should nothing further the weal public. For first of all, the most part of all princes have more delight in warlike matters and feats of chivalry (the knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feats of peace, and employ much more study how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than

how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already. Moreover, they that be counsellors to kings, every one of them either is of himself so wise indeed that he needeth not, or else he thinketh himself so wise that he will not allow, another man's counsel, saving that they do shamefully and flatteringly give assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certain great men ; whose favours, because they be in high authority with their prince, by assentation and flattery they labour to obtain. And verily it is naturally given to all men to esteem their own inventions best. So 10 both the raven and the ape think their own young ones fairest. Then if a man in such a company, where some disdain and have despite at other men's inventions, and some count their own best—if among such men (I say) a man should bring forth anything that he hath read done in times past, or that he hath seen done in other places—there the hearers fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdom were in jeopardy to be overthrown, and that ever after they should be counted for very undeses, unless they could in other men's inventions pick out matter to repre- 20 hend and find fault at. If all other poor helps fail, then this is their extreme refuge. 'These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and ancestors ; would God we could be so wise as they were.' And as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answer stopped every man's mouth, they sit down again. As who should say, it were a very dangerous matter if a man in any point should be found wiser than his forefathers were.

And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees to lie unexecuted : but if in anything a better 30 order might have been taken, than by them was, there we take fast hold, finding therein many faults. Many times have I chanced upon such proud, lewd, overthwart and wayward judgments, yea, and once in England.

I pray you sir (quoth I) have you been in our country ?

Yea forsooth (quoth he) and there I tarried for the space

of four or five months together, not long after the insurrection that the western Englishmen made against their king, which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the mean season I was much bound and beholden to the right reverend father, John Morton, Archbishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England : a man, Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will say), not more honourable for his authority than for his prudence
10 and virtue. He was of a mean stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasant to behold ; gentle in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors, to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man. In the which, as in a virtue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joined impudence, he took great delectation. And the same person, as apt and meet to have an administration in the
20 weal public, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsel, the weal public also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there. For even in the chief of his youth he was taken from school into the court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and business, being continually tumbled and tossed in the waves
30 of divers misfortunes and adversities. And so by many and great dangers he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned cannot be easily forgotten.

It chanced on a certain day, when I sat at his table, there was also a certain layman cunning in the laws of your realm. Who, I cannot tell whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait and rigorous

justice which at that time was there executed upon felons, who, as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged together upon one gallows. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose but greatly wonder and marvel, how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass that thieves nevertheless were in every place so rife and so rank. Nay sir, quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind before the Cardinal), marvel nothing hereat : for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal public. For it is too extreme 10 and cruel, a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refrain and withhold men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence that it ought to be punished with death. Neither there is any punishment so horrible that it can keep them from stealing which have no other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves, whereas much rather provision should have been 20 made, that there were some means whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal, and then to die. Yes (quoth he) this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handicrafts, there is husbandry, to get their living by, if they would not willingly be nought.

Nay, quoth I, you shall not scape so : for, first of all, I will speak nothing of them that come home out of the wars maimed and lame, as not long ago out of Blackheath field, and a little before that out of the wars in France : such, 30 I say, as put their lives in jeopardy for the weal public's or the king's sake, and by reason of weakness and lameness be not able to occupy their old crafts, and be too aged to learn new : of them I will speak nothing, forasmuch as wars have their ordinary recourses. But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First, there is a great

- number of gentlemen which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like dorres, of that which other have laboured for : their tenants, I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do they use, men else through their lavish and prodigal spending able to bring themselves to very beggary)—these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned
10 any craft whereby to get their livings. These men, as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle persons than sick men, and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house and keep so many serving-men as his father did. Then in the mean season they that be thus destitute of service either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel and also
20 appaired their health, then gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces and patched coats, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a work, knowing well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and a mattock for small wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to jet through the street with a bragging look, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate.
- 30 Nay, by Saint Mary, sir (quoth the lawyer) not so. For this kind of men must we make most of. For in them, as men of stouter stomachs, bolder spirits, and manlier courages than handicraftsmen and ploughmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puissance of our army, when we must fight in battle. Forsooth, sir, as well you might say (quoth I) that for war's sake you must cherish thieves. For

surely you shall never lack thieves, whiles you have them. No, nor thieves be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers, nor soldiers be not the cowardliest thieves : so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much used among you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all nations. Yet France besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague. The whole realm is filled and besieged with hired soldiers in peace-time (if that be peace) which be brought in under the same colour and pretence that hath persuaded you to keep 10 these idle serving-men. For these wisefools and very arch-dolts thought the wealth of the whole country herein to consist, if there were ever in a readiness a strong and sure garrison, specially of old practised soldiers ; for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therefore they must be forced to seek for war, to the end they may ever have practised soldiers and cunning manslaughterers, lest that (as it is prettily said of Sallust) their hands and their minds through idleness or lack of exercise should wax dull.

But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is to maintain 20 such beasts, the Frenchmen by their own harms have learned, and the examples of the Romans, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other countries do manifestly declare. For not only the empire but also the fields and cities of all these by divers occasions have been over-run and destroyed of their own armies beforehand had in a readiness. Now how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appear : that the French soldiers, which from their youth have been practised and inured in feats of arms, do not crack nor advance themselves to have very often got the 30 upper hand and mastery of your new-made and unpractised soldiers. But in this point I will not use many words, lest perchance I may seem to flatter you. No, nor those same handicraftsmen of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish ploughmen of the country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your gentlemen's idle serving-men, unless

it be such as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or else whose bold stomachs be discouraged through poverty. Thus you may see that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, if they were brought up in good crafts and laboursome works, whereby to get their livings, whose stout and sturdy bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idleness be brought to weakness : or else by easy and womanly exercises
10 be made feeble and unable to endure hardness. Truly howsoever the case standeth, this methinketh is nothing available to the weal public, for war's sake, which you never have but when you will yourselves, to keep and maintain an innumerable flock of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace ; whereof you ought to have a thousand times more regard than of war.

But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that? quoth the
20 Cardinal. Forsooth my lord (quoth I) your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certain abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of
30 their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting, yea much noying, the weal public, leave no ground for tillage ; they inclose all into pastures ; they throw down houses ; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing but only the church—to make of it a sheep-house. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, launds and parks, those good

holy men turn all dwelling-places and all glebeland into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by covin and fraud or by violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched 10 souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale—yet, being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and 20 then justly pardy be hanged, or else go about a begging? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set a work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth thereof, be now 30 able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness. For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot, such vengeance God took of their inordinate and insatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain which

much more justly should have fallen on the sheepmasters' own heads. And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers. For they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust, and they lust not before they may sell as dear as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinds of cattle, yea and that so much the more because that, after farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is
10 no man that passeth for the breeding of young store. For these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs. But first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward, when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt. For yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up, then shall there also be felt great dearth, store beginning there to fail
20 where the ware is bought.

Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your island in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist. For this great dearth of victuals causeth men to keep as little houses and as small hospitality as they possible may, and to put away their servants: whither, I pray you, but a begging? or else (which these gentle bloods and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto) a stealing? Now, to amend the matter, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty is
30 joined great wantonness, importunate superfluity and excessive riot. For not only gentlemen's servants but also handicraftmen, yea and almost the ploughmen of the country, with all other sorts of people, use much strange and proud newfangledness in their apparel, and too much prodigal riot and sumptuous fare at their table. Now wine-taverns, ale houses and tippling houses, with so many

naughty lewd and unlawful games, as dice, cards, tables, tennis, bowls, quoits—do not all these send the haunters of them straight a stealing when their money is gone? Cast out these pernicious abominations, make a law that they which plucked down farms and towns of husbandry shall reedify them, or else yield and uprender the possession thereof to such as will go to the cost of building them anew. Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to engross and forestall, and with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idleness; 10 let husbandry and tillage be restored; let clothworking be renewed; that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds or idle serving men, and shortly will be thieves. Doubtless, unless you find a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing justice upon felons. For this justice is more beautiful in appearance, and more flourishing to the show, than either just or profitable. For by suffering your youth wantonly and 20 viciously to be brought up and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with vice—then a God's name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after being come to man's state which from their youth they were ever like to do—in this point, I pray you, what other thing do you than make thieves and then punish them?

Now, as I was thus speaking, the lawyer began to make himself ready to answer, and was determined with himself to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, which be 30 more diligent in rehearsing than answering, as thinking the memory worthy of the chief praise. Indeed, sir, quoth he, you have said well, being but a stranger and one that might rather hear something of these matters than have any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open proof make manifest and plain. For first I will

rehearse in order all that you have said ; then I will declare wherein you be deceived, through lack of knowledge, in all our fashions, manners and customs : and last of all I will answer your arguments and confute them every one. First therefore I will begin where I promised. Four things you seemed to me. . . . Hold your peace, quoth the Cardinal ; for it appeareth that you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the pains to make your answer, but keep it to your
10 next meeting, which I would be right glad that it might be even to-morrow next, unless either you or Master Raphael have any earnest let. But now, Master Raphael, I would very gladly hear of you why you think theft not worthy to be punished with death, or what other punishment you can devise more expedient to the weal public. For I am sure you are not of that mind, that you would have theft escape unpunished. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leave stealing, then, if ruffians and robbers should be sure of their lives, what violence, what
20 fear were able to hold their hands from robbing, which would take the mitigation of the punishment as a very provocation to the mischief ?

Surely my lord, quoth I, I think it not right nor justice that the loss of money should cause the loss of man's life. For mine opinion is that all the goods in the world are not able to countervail man's life. But if they would thus say : that the breaking of justice, and the transgression of the laws, is recompensed with this punishment, and not the loss of the money, then why may not this extreme and rigorous
30 justice well be called plain injury ? For so cruel governance, so strait rules and unmerciful laws, be not allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by-and-by the sword should be drawn : nor so stoical ordinances are to be borne withal, as to count all offences of such equality that the killing of a man or the taking of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offence than the

other: between the which two, if we have any respect to equity, no similitude or equality consisteth. God commandeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hasty to kill a man for taking a little money? And if any man would understand killing by this commandment of God to be forbidden after no larger wise than man's constitutions define killing to be lawful, then why may it not likewise by man's constitutions be determined after what sort immorality and perjury may be lawful? For whereas by the permission of God no man hath power to kill neither 10 himself nor yet any other man, then, if a law made by the consent of men concerning slaughter of men ought to be of such strength force and virtue, that they which contrary to the commandment of God have killed those whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed be clean quit and exempt out of the bonds and danger of God's commandment, shall it not then by this reason follow that the power of God's commandment shall extend no further than man's law doth define, and permit? And so shall it come to pass that in like manner man's constitutions in all things shall 20 determine how far the observation of all God's commandments shall extend. To be short, Moses' law, though it were ungentle and sharp, as a law that was given to bondmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborn and stiff-necked, yet it punished theft by the purse, and not with death. And let us not think that God in the new law of clemency and mercy, under the which he ruleth us with fatherly gentleness as his dear children, hath given us greater scope and licence to the execution of cruelty one upon another. 30

Now ye have heard the reasons whereby I am persuaded that this punishment is unlawful. Furthermore I think there is nobody that knoweth not how unreasonable, yea, how pernicious a thing it is to the weal public, that a thief and an homicide or murderer should suffer equal and like punishment. For the thief, seeing that man that is con-

demned for theft in no less jeopardy, nor judged to no less punishment, than him that is convict of manslaughter, through this cogitation only he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained, to kill him whom else he would have but robbed. For, the murder being once done, he is in less fear and in more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or known, seeing the party is now dead and rid out of the way which only might have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chance to be taken and discribed, yet
10 he is in no more danger and jeopardy than if he had committed but single felony. Therefore whiles we go about with such cruelty to make thieves afraid, we provoke them to kill good men. Now as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and better: that truly in my judgment is easier to be found than what punishment might be worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profitable way for the punishment of offenders which we know did in times past so long please the Romans, men in the administration of a weal public most expert,
20 politic and cunning? Such as among them were convict of great and heinous trespasses, them they condemned into stone quarries, and into mines to dig metal, there to be kept in chains all the days of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinance of no nation so well as that which I saw, whiles I travelled abroad about the world, used in Persia among the people that commonly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittily governed: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their own laws, saving that they
30 pay a yearly tribute to the great king of Persia. But because they be far from the sea, compassed and inclosed almost round about with high mountains, and do content themselves with the fruits of their own land, which is of itself very fertile and fruitful, for this cause neither they go to other countries, nor other come to them. And, according to the old custom of the land, they desire not to enlarge the

bounds of their dominions ; and those that they have by reason of the high hills be easily defended ; and the tribute which they pay to their chief lord and king setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallant, and may better be called happy or wealthy than notable or famous. For they be not known as much as by name, I suppose, saving only to their next neighbours and borderers. They that in this land be attainted and convict of felony make restitution of that which they stole to the right owner, and not (as they do in 10 other lands) to the king ; whom they think to have no more right to the thief-stolen thing than the thief himself hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they themselves be condemned to be common labourers, and, unless the theft be very heinous, they be neither locked in prison nor fettered in gyves, but be untied and go at large, labouring in the common works. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slackly to their work, be not only tied in chains, but also 20 pricked forward with stripes. But being diligent about their work they live without check or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weal public, because they be common servants to the commonwealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne alike. For in some parts that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of alms. And though that way be uncertain, yet the people be so full of mercy and 30 pity that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain lands be appointed hereunto, of the revenues whereof they be maintained. And in some places every man giveth a certain tribute for the same use and purpose. Again in some parts of the land these serving-men (for so be these condemned persons called) do no

common work, but as every private man needeth labourers, so he cometh into the market place and there hireth some of them for meat and drink and a certain limited wages by the day, somewhat cheaper than he should hire a free man. It is also lawful for them to chastise the sloth of these serving-men with stripes. By this means they never lack work, and besides the gaining of their meat and drink every one of them bringeth daily something into the common treasury. All and every one of them be apparelled in one colour.

10 Their heads be not polled or shaven, but rounded a little above the ears. And the tip of the one ear is cut off. Every one of them may take meat and drink of their friends, and also a coat of their own colour; but to receive money is death, as well to the giver as to the receiver. And no less jeopardy it is for a free man to receive money of a serving-man for any manner of cause: and likewise for serving-men to touch weapons. The serving-men of every several shire be distinct and known from other by their several and distinct badges; which to cast away is death, as it is also to

20 be seen out of the precinct of their own shire, or to talk with a serving-man of another shire. And it is no less danger to them for to intend to run away than to do it indeed. Yea and to conceal such an enterprise in a serving-man it is death, in a free man servitude. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and uttereth such counsels be decreed large gifts: to a free man a great sum of money, to a serving-man freedom: and to them both forgiveness and pardon of that they were of counsel in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forward in their

30 evil purpose as by repentance to turn back. This is the law and order in this behalf, as I have showed you. Wherein what humanity is used, how far it is from cruelty, and how commodious it is, you do plainly perceive: forasmuch as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else but the destruction of vices and saving of men, with so using and ordering them that they cannot choose but be

good, and what harm soever they did before, in the residue of their life to make amends for the same. Moreover it is so little feared that they should turn again to their vicious conditions, that wayfaring men will for their safeguard choose them to their guides before any other, in every shire changing and taking new. For if they would commit robbery, they have nothing about them meet for that purpose. They may touch no weapons. Money found about them should betray the robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should 10 be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to scape away by flying. For how should a man that in no part of his apparel is like other men fly privily and unknown, unless he would run away naked? Howbeit so also flying he should be discribed by the rounding of his head, and his ear-mark. But it is a thing to be doubted, that they will lay their heads together, and conspire against the weal public. No, no, I warrant you. For the serving-men of one shire alone could never hope to bring to pass such an enterprise without soliciting, enticing and alluring the 20 serving-men of many other shires to take their parts. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speak or talk together, or salute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their own countrymen and companions of their counsel in such a matter, which they know well should be jeopardy to the concealer thereof and great commodity and goodness to the opener and detector of the same. Whereas on the other part there is none of them all hopeless or in despair to recover again his former estate of freedom, by humble 30 obedience, by patient suffering and by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself, that he will ever after that live like a true and an honest man. For every year divers of them be restored to their freedom through the commendation of their patience.

When I had thus spoken, saying moreover that I could

see no cause why this order might not be had in England with much more profit than the justice which the lawyer so highly praised, Nay, quoth the lawyer, this could never be so stablished in England, but that it must needs bring the weal public into great jeopardy and hazard. And as he was thus saying, he shook his head and made a wry mouth, and so he held his peace. And all that were there present with one assent agreed to his saying. Well, quoth the Cardinal, yet it were hard to judge without a proof whether this order
10 would do well here or no. But when the sentence of death is given, if then the king should command execution to be deferred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion, taking away the privileges of all sanctuaries—if then the proof should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were established; else the condemned and reprieved persons may as well and as justly be put to death after this proof as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the mean space grow hereof. Yea, and methinketh that these vagabonds
20 may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many laws, and so little prevailed.

When the Cardinal had thus said, then every man gave great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of vagabonds, because it was the Cardinal's own addition. I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall hear it, for there was no evil in it, and partly
30 it pertained to the matter beforesaid. There chanced to stand by a certain jesting parasite, or scoffer, which would seem to resemble and counterfeit the fool. But he did in such wise counterfeit that he was almost the very same indeed that he laboured to represent: he so studied with words and sayings brought forth so out of time and place to make sport and move laughter, that he himself was oftener

laughed at than his jests were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuff, that he made the proverb true which saith : he that shooteth oft at the last shall hit the mark. So that when one of the company said that through my communication a good order was found for thieves, and that the Cardinal also had well provided for vagabonds, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sickness and age were fallen into poverty, and were become so impotent and unwieldy that they were not able to work for 10 their living, Tush (quoth he), let me alone with them ; you shall see me do well enough with them. For I had rather than any good that this kind of people were driven somewhere out of my sight, they have so sore troubled me many times and oft, when they have with their lamentable tears begged money of me ; and yet they could never to my mind so tune their song that thereby they ever got of me one farthing. For evermore the one of these two chanced : either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. For when 20 they see me go by, because they will not leese their labour, they let me pass and say not one word to me. So they look for nothing of me, no in good sooth no more than if I were a priest, or a monk. But I will make a law that all these beggars shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made lay brethren, as they call them, and the women nuns. Hereat the Cardinal smiled and allowed it in jest, yea and all the residue in good earnest.

But a certain friar, graduate in divinity, took such pleasure 30 and delight in this jest of priests and monks, that he also, being else a man of grisly and stern gravity, began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt. Nay, quoth he, you shall not so be rid and despatched of beggars, unless you make some provision also for us friars. Why, quoth the jester, that is done already, for my lord himself set a very good

order for you when he decreed that vagabonds should be kept strait and set to work : for you be the greatest and veriest vagabonds that be. This jest also, when they saw the Cardinal not disprove it, every man took it gladly, saving only the friar. For he (and that no marvel) being thus touched on the quick and hit on the gall, so fret, so fumed and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refrain himself from chiding, scolding, railing and reviling. He called the fellow ribald, villain, javel, back-
10 biter, slanderer, and the child of perdition : citing therewith terrible threatenings out of holy scripture. Then the jesting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeed, and verily he was good at it, for he could play a part in that play, no man better. Patient yourself, good master friar, quoth he, and be not angry, for scripture saith : *In your patience you shall save your souls.* Then the friar (for I will rehearse his own very words) No, gallows wretch, I am not angry (quoth he) or at the leastwise I do not sin ; for the Psalmist saith : *Be you angry, and sin not.* Then the Cardinal spake gently to
20 the friar, and desired him to quiet himself. No my lord, quoth he, I speak not but of a good zeal as I ought : for holy men had a good zeal. Wherefore it is said : *The zeal of thy house hath eaten me.* And it is sung in the church : *The scorers of Helizeus, whiles he went up into the house of God, felt the zeal of the bald ;* as peradventure this scorning villain ribald shall feel. You do it (quoth the Cardinal) perchance of a good mind and affection : but methinketh you should do, I cannot tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fool's wit, and with a fool
30 take in hand a foolish contention. No forsooth, my lord (quoth he) I should not do more wisely. For Solomon the wise saith : *Answer a fool according to his folly,* like as I do now, and do show him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed. For if many scorers of Helizeus, which was but one bald man, felt the zeal of the bald, how much more shall one scorer of many friars feel, among whom be many

bald men? And we have also the pope's bulls, whereby all that mock and scorn us be excommunicate, suspended and accursed. The Cardinal, seeing that none end would be made, sent away the jester by a privy beck, and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to hear his suitors, and so dismissed us. Look, Master More, with how long and tedious a tale I have kept you, which surely I would have been ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sort give ear unto it, as though you 10 would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Which though I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the judgment of them which, when they had improved and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent, hearing the Cardinal allow them, did themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea almost in good earnest, his jester's foolish inventions, because that he himself by smiling at them did seem not to disprove them. So that hereby you may right well perceive how 20 little the courtiers would regard and esteem me and my sayings.

I ensure you, Master Raphael, quoth I, I took great delectation in hearing you: all things that you said were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And me thought myself to be in the meantime not only at home in my country, but also through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose house I was brought up of a child, to wax a child again. And, friend Raphael, though I did bear very great love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favour 30 this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no means change my mind, but that I must needs believe that you, if you be disposed and can find in your heart to follow some prince's court, shall with your good counsels greatly help and further the commonwealth. Where-

fore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty, that is to say, to the duty of a good man. For whereas your Plato judgeth that weal publicks shall by this means attain perfect felicity, either if philosophers be kings, or else if kings give themselves to the study of philosophy, how far, I pray you, shall commonwealths then be from this felicity, if philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsel?

They be not so unkind (quoth he) but they would gladly do it, yea, many have done it already in books that they have
10 put forth, if kings and princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsel. But Plato doubtless did well foresee, unless kings themselves would apply their minds to the study of philosophy, that else they would never thoroughly allow the counsel of philosophers, being themselves before even from their tender age infected, and corrupt with perverse and evil opinions. Which thing Plato himself proved true in King Dionysius. If I should propose to any king wholesome decrees, doing my endeavour to pluck out of his mind the pernicious original causes of vice and naughtiness,
20 think you not that I should forthwith either be driven away or else made a laughing stock?

Well, suppose I were with the French king, and there sitting in his council, whiles in that most secret consultation, the king himself there being present in his own person, they beat their brains and search the very bottoms of their wits to discuss by what craft and means the king may still keep Milan, and draw to him again fugitive Naples, and then how to conquer the Venetians, and how to bring under his jurisdiction all Italy; then how to win the dominion of
30 Flanders, Brabant, and of all Burgundy, with divers other lands whose kingdoms he hath long ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a league of peace with the Venetians, so long to endure as shall be thought meet and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsel, yea, and besides that to give them part of the prey, which afterward, when they have brought

their purpose about after their own minds, they may require and claim again ; another thinketh best to hire the Germans ; another would have the favour of the Switzers won with money ; another's advice is to appease the puissant power of the Emperor's majesty with gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice ; whiles another giveth counsel to make peace with the King of Aragon and to restore unto him his own kingdom of Navarre, as a full assurance of peace ; another cometh in with his five eggs, and adviseth to hook in the King of Castile with some hope of affinity 10 or alliance, and to bring to their part certain peers of his court for great pensions ; whiles they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to do in the meantime with England, and yet agree all in this, to make peace with the Englishmen, and with most sure and strong bands to bind that weak and feeble friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspicion as enemies : and that therefore the Scots must be had in a readiness, as it were in a standing, ready at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen should stir never so little, incontinent to set upon them : and moreover 20 privily and secretly (for openly it may not be done by the truce that is taken) privily therefore, I say, to make much of some peer of England that is banished his country, which must claim title to the crown of the realm, and affirm himself just inheritor thereof, that by this subtle means they may hold to them the king, in whom else they have but small trust and affiance . . . here, I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsel their king only to war, here if I silly man should rise up and will them to turn over the leaf and 30 learn a new lesson, saying that my counsel is not to meddle with Italy, but to tarry still at home, and that the kingdom of France alone is almost greater than that it may well be governed of one man, so that the king should not need to study how to get more ; and then should propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, which

be situate over against the island of Utopia on the south-east side. . . .

These Achoriens once made war in their king's quarrel for to get him another kingdom, which he laid claim unto, and advanced himself right inheritor to the crown thereof, by the title of an old alliance. At the last when they had gotten it, and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it as they had in getting it, and that either their new conquered subjects by sundry occasions
10 were making daily insurrections to rebel against them, or else that other countries were continually with divers inroads and foragings invading them, so that they were ever fighting either for them or against them, and never could break up their camps : seeing themselves in the mean season pilled and impoverished, their money carried out of the realm, their own men killed to maintain the glory of another nation : when they had no war, peace nothing better than war, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners that they had
20 taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing : that through manslaughter they had gathered boldness to mischief : that their laws were had in contempt, and nothing set by or regarded : that their king, being troubled with the charge and governance of two kingdoms, could not nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them both : seeing again that all these evils and troubles were endless, at the last laid their heads together and like faithful and loving subjects gave to their king free choice and liberty to keep still the one of these two kingdoms, whether he
30 would, alleging that he was not able to keep both, and that they were mo than might well be governed of half a king, forasmuch as no man would be content to take him for his muleteer that keepeth another man's mules besides his. So this good prince was constrained to be content with his old kingdom and to give over the new to one of his friends ; who shortly after was violently driven out.

Furthermore, if I should declare unto them that all this busy preparance to war, whereby so many nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted and his people destroyed, should at the length through some mischance be in vain and to none effect ; and that therefore it were best for him to content himself with his own kingdom of France, as his forefathers and predecessors did before him ; to make much of it, to enrich it and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeavour himself to love his 10 subjects and again to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea and more than he can well turn him to—this mine advice, Master More, how think you it would be heard and taken ?

So God help me, not very thankfully, quoth I.

Well let us proceed then, quoth he. Suppose that some king and his council were together whetting their wits and devising what subtle craft they might invent to enrich the 20 king with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to raise and enhance the valuation of money when the king must pay any : and again to call down the value of coin to less than it is worth when he must receive or gather any. For thus great sums shall be paid with a little money, and where little is due much shall be received. Another counselleth to feign war, that when under this colour and pretence the king hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poor 30 commonalty, as taking pity and compassion forsooth upon man's blood, like a loving and a merciful prince. Another putteth the king in remembrance of certain old and moth-eaten laws, that of long time have not been put in execution, which, because no man can remember that they were made, every man hath transgressed. The fines of these laws he

counselleth the king to require: for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable, as the which hath a show and colour of justice. Another adviseth him to forbid many things under great penalties and fines, specially such things as is for the people's profit not [to] be used, and afterward to dispense for money with them which by this prohibition sustain loss and damage. For by this means the favour of the people is won, and profit riseth two ways. First by taking forfeits of them whom covetousness of gains hath
10 brought in danger of this statute, and also by selling privileges and licences, which the better that the prince is, forsooth, the dearer he selleth them, as one that is loath to grant to any private person anything that is against the profit of his people; and therefore may sell none but at an exceeding dear price. Another giveth the king counsel to endanger unto his grace the judges of the realm, that he may have them ever on his side, and that they may in every matter dispute and reason for the king's right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there
20 to argue and discuss his matters in his own presence. So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and unjust, wherein one or other of them, either because he will have something to allege and object, or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already, or else to pick a thank with his prince, will not find some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip. Thus, whiles the judges cannot agree among themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plain enough and bringing the manifest truth in doubt, in the mean season the king may
30 take a fit occasion to understand the law as shall most make for his advantage, whereunto all other for shame or for fear will agree. Then the judges may be bold to pronounce on the king's side. For he that giveth sentence for the king cannot be without a good excuse. For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity on his part, or the bare words of the law, or a writen and wrested understanding of the same,

or else (which with good and just judges is of greater force than all laws be) the king's indisputable prerogative. To conclude, all the councillors agree and consent together with the rich Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which must keep and maintain an army; furthermore that a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly: for all that all men have, yea also the men themselves, be all his: and that every man hath so much of his own as the king's gentleness hath not taken from him: and that it shall be most for the king's advantage that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession, as whose safeguard doth herein consist that his people do not wax wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty, because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful commandments; whereas on the other part need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomachs. 10

Here again, if I should rise up and boldly affirm that all these counsels be to the king dishonour and reproach, whose honour and safety is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and riches of his people than by his own treasures: and if I should declare that the commonalty chooseth their king for their own sake and not for his sake, to the intent that through his labour and study they might all live wealthily, safe from wrongs and injuries, and that therefore the king ought to take more care for the wealth of his people than for his own wealth, even as the office and duty of a shepherd is, in that he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep rather than himself. For as touching this, that they think the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in the poverty of the people, the thing itself sheweth that they be far out of the way. For where shall a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling and chiding, than among beggars? Who be more desirous of new mutations and alterations than they that be not content with the present state of their 30

life? Or finally, who be bolder stomached to bring all in a hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some windfall) than they that have now nothing to lose? And if any king were so smally regarded and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subjects, that other ways he could not keep them in awe, but only by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggary, surely it were better for him to forsake his kingdom than to hold it by this means, whereby, though the name of a king be kept, yet the majesty is
10 lost. For it is against the dignity of a king to have rule over beggars, but rather over rich and wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and courageous Fabricius, when he said that he had rather be a ruler of rich men, than be rich himself. And verily one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whiles all other weep and smart for it, that is the part, not of a king, but of a jailor. To be short, as he is a foolish physician that cannot cure his patient's disease unless he cast him in another sickness, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjects but by taking from them the wealth and
20 commodity of life, he must needs grant that he knoweth not the feat how to govern men. But let him rather amend his own life, renounce dishonest pleasures and forsake pride. For these be the chief vices that cause him to run in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him live of his own, hurting no man. Let him do cost not above his power. Let him restrain wickedness. Let him prevent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickedness to increase, afterward to be punished. Let him not be too hasty in calling again
30 laws which a custom hath abrogated, specially such as have been long forgotten, and never lacked nor needed. And let him never under the cloak and pretence of transgression take such fines and forfeits, as no judge will suffer a private person to take, as unjust and full of guile.

Here if I should bring forth before them the law of the Macariens, which be not far distant from Utopia . . . , whose

king the day of his coronation is bound by a solemn oath that he shall never at any time have in his treasure above a thousand pounds of gold or silver. They say a very good king, which took more care for the wealth and commodity of his country than for the enriching of himself, made this law to be a stop and a bar to kings from heaping and hoarding up so much money as might impoverish their people. For he foresaw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battle against his own people, if they should chance to rebel, and also to maintain his wars against the invasions of 10 his foreign enemies. Again, he perceived the same stock of money to be too little and insufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other men's goods; which was the chief cause why the law was made. Another cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people should not lack money, wherewith to maintain their daily occupying and chaffer. And seeing the king could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescript sum of his stock, he thought he would seek no occasions to do his subjects injury. Such a king shall be feared of evil 20 men and loved of good men. These and such other informations if I should use among men wholly inclined and given to the contrary part, how deaf hearers think you should I have?

Deaf hearers doubtless (quoth I) and in good faith no marvel. And to be plain with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be used, or such counsel given, as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received. For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads whose minds be already prevented 30 with clean contrary persuasions? This school philosophy is not unpleasant among friends in familiar communication, but in the councils of kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, these things have no place.

That is it which I meant (quoth he) when I said philosophy had no place among kings.

Indeed (quoth I) this school philosophy hath not, which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another philosophy more civil, which knoweth, as ye would say, her own stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving herself in the play that she hath in hand playeth her part accordingly with comeliness, uttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the philosophy that you must use. Or else, whiles a comedy of Plautus is playing and the vile bondmen scoffing and trifling among themselves, 10 if you should suddenly come upon the stage in a philosopher's apparel, and rehearse out of Octavia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero, had it not been better for you to have played the dumb person, than by rehearsing that which served neither for the time nor place to have made such a tragical comedy or gallymalfrey? For by bringing in other stuff that nothing appertaineth to the present matter you must needs mar and pervert the play that is in hand, though the stuff that you bring be much better. What part soever you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can and 20 make the best of it; and do not therefore disturb and bring out of order the whole matter because that another, which is merrier and better, cometh to your remembrance. So the case standeth in a commonwealth, and so it is in the consultations of kings and princes. If evil opinions and naughty persuasions cannot be utterly and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot, even as you would, remedy vices which use and custom hath confirmed, yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the commonwealth; you must not forsake the ship in a tempest because you cannot rule and keep 30 down the winds. No, nor you must not labour to drive into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of clean contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtle train study and endeavour yourself, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the purpose, and that which you cannot turn to good, so to order

it that it be not very bad. For it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good. Which I think will not be yet these good many years.

By this means (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to pass but, while that I go about to remedy the madness of others, I should be even as mad as they. For if I would speak such things that be true, I must needs speak such things; but as for to speak false things, whether that be a philosopher's part or no I cannot tell; truly it is not my part. Howbeit, this communication of mine, though per- 10
adventure it may seem unpleasant to them, yet can I not see why it should seem strange or foolishly newfangled. If so be that I should speak those things that Plato feigneth in his weal public, or that the Utopians do in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seem spoken out of place. Forasmuch as here amongst us every man hath his possessions several to himself, and there all things be common.

But what was in my communication contained that might not and ought not in any place to be spoken—saving that to 20
them which have thoroughly decreed and determined with themselves to run headlongs the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them back and sheweth them the jeopardies? Verily if all things that evil and vicious manners have caused to seem inconvenient and nought should be refused, as things unmeet and reproachful, then we must among Christian people wink at the most part of all those things which Christ taught us, and so strictly forbade them to be winked at that those things also which he whispered in the ears of his disciples he commanded to 30
be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most part of them is more dissident from the manners of the world nowadays than my communication was. But preachers, sly and wily men, following your counsel (as I suppose), because they saw men evil willing to frame their manners to Christ's rule, they have wrested and wried his doctrine, and like a

rule of lead have applied it to men's manners, that by some means at the leastways they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done, but that men may more sickerly be evil. And I truly should prevail even as little in kings' councils. For either I must say otherways than they say, and then I were as good to say nothing, or else I must say the same that they say and (as Mitio saith in Terence) help to further their madness. For that crafty wile and subtle train of yours, I cannot perceive to what purpose
10 it serveth, wherewith you would have me to study and endeavour myself, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose that as far forth as is possible they may not be very evil. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wink in. Naughty counsels must be openly allowed and very pestilent decrees must be approved. He shall be counted worse than a spy, yea almost as evil as a traitor, that with a faint heart doth praise evil and noisome decrees.

Moreover a man can have no occasion to do good chancing
20 into the company of them which will sooner pervert a good man than be made good themselves ; through whose evil company he shall be marred, or else if he remain good and innocent, yet the wickedness and folly of others shall be imputed to him and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile and subtle train to turn anything to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodly similitude declareth why wise men refrain to meddle in the commonwealth. For when they see the people swarm into the streets, and daily wet to the skin with rain, and yet cannot persuade
30 them to go out of the rain and to take their houses, knowing well that if they should go out to them, they should nothing prevail nor win aught by it, but with them be wet also in the rain, they do keep themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the folly of the people. Howbeit doubtless, Master More (to speak truly as my mind giveth me) where

possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke, it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal public may justly be governed and prosperously flourish. Unless you think thus: that justice is there executed where all things come into the hands of evil men; or that prosperity there flourisheth where all is divided among a few; which few nevertheless do not lead their lives very wealthily, and the residue live miserably, wretchedly and beggarly.

Wherefore when I consider with myself and weigh in my 10 mind the wise and godly ordinances of the Utopians, among whom with very few laws all things be so well and wealthily ordered that virtue is had in price and estimation, and yet, all things being there common, every man hath abundance of everything; again on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations ever making new laws, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with laws; where every man calleth that he hath gotten his own proper and private goods; where so many new laws daily made be not sufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from 20 another man's that which he calleth his own (which thing the infinite controversies in the law, daily rising, never to be ended, plainly declare to be true)—these things, I say, when I consider with myself, I hold well with Plato, and do nothing marvel that he would make no laws for them that refused those laws whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealths and commodities. For the wise man did easily foresee this to be the one and only way to the wealth of a commonalty, if equality of all things should be brought in and stablished; which I think is not possible 30 to be observed where every man's goods be proper and peculiar to himself. For where every man under certain titles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himself as much as he can, so that a few divide among themselves all the whole riches, be there never so much abundance and store, there to the residue is left lack and poverty. And

for the most part it chanceth that this latter sort is more worthy to enjoy that state of wealth than the other be, because the rich men be covetous, crafty and unprofitable. On the other part the poor be lowly, simple, and by their daily labour more profitable to the commonwealth than to themselves.

Thus I do fully persuade myself that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, unless this propriety be
10 exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best part of men the heavy and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchedness; which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so I utterly deny that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a statute made that no man should possess above a certain measure of ground, and that no man should have in his stock above a prescript and appointed sum of money; if it were by certain laws decreed that
20 neither the king should be of too great power, neither the people too haughty and wealthy, and that offices should not be obtained by inordinate suit, or by bribes and gifts—that they should neither be bought nor sold, nor that it should be needful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices (for so occasion is given to them by fraud and ravin to gather up their money again, and by reason of gifts and bribes the offices be given to rich men, which should rather have been executed of wise men)—by such laws, I say, like as sick bodies that be
30 desperate and past cure be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched up for a time, so these evils also might be lightened and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upright state, it is not to be hoped for whiles every man is master of his own to himself. Yea, and whiles you go about to do your cure of one part, you shall make bigger the sore of another part; so the help of one causeth

another's harm, forasmuch as nothing can be given to any one unless it be taken from another.

But I am of a contrary opinion, quoth I; for methinketh that men shall never there live wealthily where all things be common. For how can there be abundance of goods, or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hand from labour? Whom the regard of his own gains driveth not to work, but the hope that he hath in other men's travails maketh him slothful. Then, when they be pricked with poverty, and yet no man can by any law or right 10 defend that for his own which he hath gotten with the labour of his own hands, shall not there of necessity be continual sedition and bloodshed? Specially the authority and reverence of magistrates being taken away, which, what place it may have with such men among whom is no difference, I cannot devise.

I marvel not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceive in your mind either none at all, or else a very false image and similitude of this thing. But if you had been with me in Utopia and had presently seen 20 their fashions and laws, as I did, which lived there five years and more, and would never have come thence but only to make that new land known here, then doubtless you would grant that you never saw people well ordered, but only there.

Surely (quoth Master Peter) it shall be hard for you to make me believe that there is better order in that new land than is here in these countries, that we know. For good wits be as well here as there; and I think our commonwealth be ancients than theirs; wherein long use 30 and experience hath found out many things commodious for man's life, besides that many things here among us have been found by chance, which no wit could ever have devised.

As touching the ancientness (quoth he) of commonwealths, then you might better judge, if you had read the histories

and chronicles of that land, which if we may believe, cities were there before men were here. Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath been devised or found by chance, that might be as well there as here. But I think verily, though it were so that we did pass them in wit, yet in study, in travail, and in laboursome endeavour they far pass us. For (as their chronicles testify) before our arrival there they never heard anything of us, whom they call the ultra-equinoctials, saving that once about 1200 years ago a certain
10 ship was lost by the Isle of Utopia, which was driven thither by tempest. Certain Romans and Egyptians were cast on land. Which after that never went thence. Mark now what profit they took of this one occasion through diligence and earnest travail. There was no craft nor science within the empire of Rome, whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of these strangers or else of them taking occasion to search for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that ever any went thither from hence. But if any like chance before this
20 hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this also perchance in time to come shall be forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their own whatsoever is among us wealthily devised, so I suppose it would be long before we would receive anything that among them is better instituted than among us. And this I suppose is the chief cause why their commonwealths be wiselier governed, and do flourish in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wit nor riches be their inferiors.

30 Therefore gentle Master Raphael (quoth I) I pray you and beseech you describe unto us the island. And study not to be short, but declare largely in order their grounds, their rivers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinances, their laws, and to be short, all things that you shall think us desirous to know. And you shall think us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet.

There is nothing (quoth he) that I will do gladlier. For all these things I have fresh in mind. But the matter requireth leisure.

Let us go in therefore (quoth I) to dinner ; afterward we will bestow the time at our pleasure.

Content, quoth he ; be it.

So we went in and dined. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again and sat us down upon the same bench, commanding our servants that no man should trouble us. Then I and Master Peter Giles desired Master 10 Raphael to perform his promise. He therefore seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himself, thus he began to speak.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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THE SECOND BOOK OF UTOPIA.

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*An amplified version of Robinson's free translation of the Latin
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THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

Communication of Raphael Hythloday concerning the best state of a commonwealth, containing the description of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politic government and of all the good laws and orders of the same Island.

THE island of Utopia containeth in breadth in the middle part of it (for there it is broadest) two hundred miles. Which breadth continueth through the most part of the land, saving that by little and little it cometh in and waxeth narrower towards both the ends ; which, fetching about a circuit or compass of five hundred miles, do fashion the whole island like to the new moon. Between these two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them asunder by the distance of eleven miles or thereabouts, and there surmounteth into a large and wide sea, which by reason that 10 the land on every side compasseth it about and sheltereth it from the winds is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietly, not much unlike a great standing pool, and maketh well-nigh all the space within the belly of the land in manner of a haven, and to the great commodity of the inhabitants receiveth in ships towards every part of the land. The forefronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with fords and shelves, and what with rocks be very jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle distance between them both standeth up above the water a 20 great rock, which therefore is nothing perilous because it is in sight. Upon the top of this rock is a fair and a strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men.

Other rocks there be lying hid under the water, which therefore be dangerous. The channels be known only to themselves. And therefore it seldom chanceth that any stranger, unless he be guided by an Utopian, can come into this haven. Insomuch that they themselves could scarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certain landmarks standing on the shore. By turning, translating, and removing these marks into other places they may destroy their enemies' navies, be they never
10 so many. The outside or utter circuit of the land is also full of havens, but the landing is so surely fenced, what by nature and what by workmanship of man's hand, that a few defenders may drive back many armies.

Howbeit, as they say and as the fashion of the place itself doth partly show, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But King Utopus, whose name as conqueror the island beareth (for before his time it was called Abraxa)—which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanity, and
20 civil gentleness, wherein they now go beyond all the people of the world—even at his first arriving and entering upon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteen miles space of uplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged up, and so brought the sea round about the land. He set to this work not only the inhabitants of the island (because they should not think it done in contumely and despite) but also all his own soldiers. Thus the work, being divided into so great a number of workmen, was with exceeding marvellous speed
30 despatched. Insomuch that the borderers, which at the first began to mock and to jest at this vain enterprise, then turned their derision to marvel at the success, and to fear.

There be in the island fifty-four large and fair cities, or shire towns, agreeing all together in one tongue, in like manners, institutions and laws. They be all set and situate

alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as farforth as the place or plot suffereth.

Of these cities they that be nighest together be twenty-four miles asunder. Again, there is none of them distant from the next above one day's journey afoot. There come yearly to Amaurote out of every city three old men wise and well experienced, there to entreat and debate of the common matters of the land. For this city (because it standeth just in the midst of the island, and is therefore most meet for the ambassadors of all parts of the realm) 10 is taken for the chief and head city. The precincts and bounds of the shires be so commodiously appointed out and set forth for the cities, that none of them all hath of any side less than twenty miles of ground, and of some side also much more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distance asunder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires; for they count themselves rather the good husbands than the owners of their lands.

They have in the country in all parts of the shire houses or farms builded, well appointed and furnished with all 20 sorts of instruments and tools belonging to husbandry. These houses be inhabited of the citizens, which come thither to dwell by course. No household or farm in the country hath fewer than forty persons, men and women, besides two bondmen, which be all under the rule and order of the good man and the good wife of the house, being both very sage, discreet and ancient persons. And every thirty farms or families have one head ruler, which is called a phylarch, being as it were a head bailiff. Out of every one of these families or farms cometh every year into the city twenty persons 30 which have continued two years before in the country. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the city, who of them that have been there a year already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught. And they the next year shall teach other. This order is used for fear that either scarceness of victuals,

or some other like incommmodity, should chance through lack of knowledge, if they should be altogether new and fresh and unexpert in husbandry. This manner and fashion of yearly changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry, though it be solemn and customably used, to the intent that no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharp kind of life, yet many of them have such a pleasure and delight in husbandry, that they obtain a longer space of years. These husbandmen plough and till the
10 ground, and breed up cattle, and provide and make ready wood, which they carry to the city either by land or by water, as they may most conveniently. They bring up a great multitude of pullen, and that by a marvellous policy. For the hens do not sit upon the eggs ; but by keeping them in a certain equal heat they bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, as soon as they be come out of the shell, follow men and women instead of the hens.

They bring up very few horses, nor none but very fierce ones ; and that for none other use or purpose but only to
20 exercise their youth in riding and feats of arms. For oxen be put to all the labour of ploughing and drawing ; which they grant to be not so good as horses at a sudden brunt and (as we say) at a dead lift, but yet they hold opinion that oxen will abide and suffer much more labour, pain and hardness, than horses will. And they think that oxen be not in danger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kept and maintained with much less cost and charge ; and finally that they be good for meat, when they be past labour.

They sow corn only for bread. For their drink is either
30 wine made of grapes, or else of apples or pears, or else it is clear water, and many times mead made of honey or liquorice sodden in water ; for thereof they have great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the city with the whole country or shire round about it doth spend, yet they sow much more corn, and breed up much more cattle, than serveth for their

own use, parting the overplus among their borderers. Whatsoever necessary things be lacking in the country, all such stuff they fetch out of the city, where without any exchange they easily obtain it of the magistrates of the city. For every month many of them go into the city on the holy day. When their harvest day draweth near and is at hand, then the phylarchs, which be the head officers and bailiffs of husbandry, send word to the magistrates of the city what number of harvest men is needful to be sent to them out of the city. The which company of harvest men, being ready 10 at the day appointed, almost in one fair day despatcheth all the harvest work.

II.

Of the Cities and namely of Amaurote.

As for their cities, whoso knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be all so like one to another as farforth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather than Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignity. For the residue knowledge it for the head city, because there is the council-house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloved, as 20 wherein I lived five whole years together.

The city of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a low hill in fashion almost four square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill and still continueth by the space of two miles, until it come to the river of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the river's side, is somewhat more.

The river of Anyder riseth four and twenty miles above Amaurote out of a little spring. But being increased by other small rivers and brooks that run into it, and among 30 other two somewhat big ones, before the city it is half a mile

broad, and farther broader. And forty miles beyond the city it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth between the sea and the city, and certain miles also above the city, the water ebbeth and floweth six hours together with a swift tide. When the sea floweth in, for the length of thirty miles it filleth all the Anyder with salt water, and driveth back the fresh water of the river. And somewhat further it changeth the sweetness of the fresh water with saltness. But a little beyond that the river
10 waxeth sweet, and runneth forby the city fresh and pleasant. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth back again, the fresh water followeth it almost even to the very fall into the sea.

There goeth a bridge over the river, made not of piles or of timber but of stonework with gorgeous and substantial arches, at that part of the city that is farthest from the sea, to the intent that ships may pass along forby all the side of the city without let. They have also another river, which indeed is not very great. But it runneth gently and pleasantly. For it riseth even out of the same hill that
20 the city standeth upon, and runneth down a slope through the midst of the city into Anyder. And because it riseth a little without the city, the Amaurotians have enclosed the head spring of it with strong fences and bulwarks, and so have joined it to the city. This is done to the intent that the water should not be stopped nor turned away, or poisoned, if their enemies should chance to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and conveyed down in channels of brick divers ways into the lower parts of the city. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place
30 will not suffer it, there they gather the rain water in great cisterns, which doth them as good service.

The city is compassed about with a high and thick stone wall full of turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, but deep and broad and overgrown with bushes briers and thorns, goeth about three sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river itself serveth for a ditch. The streets

be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage and also against the winds. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the street side they stand joined together in a long row through the whole street without any partition or separation. The streets be twenty feet broad. On the back side of the houses, through the whole length of the street, lie large gardens inclosed round about with the back part of the streets. Every house hath two doors, one into the street, and a postern door on the back side into the garden. These doors be made with two 10 leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easy to be opened that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut again alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothing within the houses that is private, or any man's own. And every tenth year they change their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs and flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitful nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein cometh not only of pleasure, but also of a 20 certain strife and contention that is between street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding and furnishing of their gardens : every man for his own part. And verily you shall not lightly find in all the city anything that is more commodious, either for the profit of the citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it may seem that the first founder of the city minded nothing so much as these gardens. For they say that King Utopus himself even at the first beginning appointed and drew forth the platform of the city into this fashion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant 30 garnishing and the beautiful setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one man's age would not suffice, that he left to his posterity. For their chronicles, which they keep written with all diligent circumspection, containing the history of 1760 years, even from the first conquest of the island, record and witness that the houses in the beginning were very low

and like homely cottages or poor shepherd houses, made at all adventures of every rude piece of timber that came first to hand, with mud walls and ridged roofs thatched over with straw. But now the houses be curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three storeys one over another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint or of plaster, or else of brick, and the inner sides be well strengthened with timber work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered with a certain kind of plaster that is of no
10 cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used, and sometimes also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber, and that for two commodities. For by this means more light commeth in, and the wind is better kept out.

III.

Of the Magistrates.

EVERY thirty families or farms choose them yearly an officer, which in their old language is called the syphogrant, and by a newer name, the phylarch. Every ten syphogrants with
20 all their thirty families be under an officer which was called the tranibore, now the chief phylarch.

Moreover, as concerning the election of the prince, all the syphogrants, which be in number 200, first be sworn to choose him whom they think most meet and expedient. Then by a secret election they name prince one of those four whom the people before named unto them. For out of the four quarters of the city there be four chosen, out of every quarter one, to stand for the election; which be put up to the council. The prince's office continueth all his life-
30 time, unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion of tyranny. They choose the tranibores yearly, but lightly

they change them not. All the other officers be but for one year. The tranibores every third day, and sometimes, if need be, oftener come into the council house with the prince. Their counsel is concerning the commonwealth. If there be any controversies among the commoners, which be very few, they despatch and end them by-and-by. They take ever two syphogrants to them in counsel, and every day a new couple. And it is provided that nothing touching the commonwealth shall be confirmed and ratified, unless it have been reasoned of and debated three days in the council 10 before it be decreed. It is death to have any consultation for the commonwealth out of the council, or the place of the common election. This statute, they say, was made to the intent that the prince and tranibores might not easily conspire together to oppress the people by tyranny, and to change the state of the weal public. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be brought to the election-house of the syphogrants, which open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they have consulted among themselves, they show their device to the council. Some- 20 times the matter is brought before the council of the whole island.

Furthermore this custom also the council useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same day that it is first proposed or put forth, but to defer it to the next sitting of the council. Because that no man, when he hath rashly there spoken that cometh to his tongue's end, shall then afterward rather study for reasons wherewith to defend and maintain his first foolish sentence than for the commodity of the commonwealth, as one rather willing the harm or hindrance 30 of the weal public than any loss or diminution of his own existimation, and as one that would be ashamed (which is a very foolish shame) to be counted anything at the first overseen in the matter. Who at the first ought to have spoken rather wisely, than hastily, or rashly.

IV.

Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations.

HUSBANDRY is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instruct even from their youth, partly in their schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also.

Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and
10 particular science as his own proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there. For their garments, which throughout all the island be of one fashion (saving that there is a difference between the man's garment and the woman's, between the married and the unmarried) and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter
20 and summer—as for these garments (I say) every family maketh their own. But of the other foresaid crafts every man learneth one. And not only the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts, as to work wool and flax. The more labour-some sciences be committed to the men. For the most part every man is brought up in his father's craft. For most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation which he doth most
30 fantasy. Whom not only his father but also the magistrates do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet and an

honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will, unless the city have more need of the one than of the other.

The chief and almost the only office of the syphogrants is to see and take heed that no man sit idle, but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that not to be wearied from early in the morning to late in the evening with continual work, like labouring and toiling 10
beasts. For this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen. Which nevertheless is almost everywhere the life of workmen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they, dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of these hours to work ; three before noon ; upon the which they go straight to dinner ; and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three hours, and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening (counting one of the clock at the first hour after noon) they go to bed : 20
eight hours they give to sleep. All the void time that is between the hours of work, sleep and meat, that they be suffered to bestow, every man as he liketh best himself ; not to the intent that they should misspend this time in riot or slothfulness, but being then licensed from the labour of their own occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftily upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solemn custom there to have lectures daily early in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namely chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multi- 30
tude of every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures, some one and some another as every man's nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation (as it chanceth in many whose minds rise not in the contemplation of any science liberal) he is not letted nor prohibited, but is

also praised and commended as profitable to the common-wealth.

After supper they bestow one hour in play, in summer in their gardens, in winter in their common halls, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Diceplay, and such other foolish and pernicious games they know not. But they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth
10 away another. The other is wherein vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle array, or a set field. In the which game is very properly showed both the strife and discord that vices have among themselves and again their unity and concord against virtues, and also what vices be repugnant to what virtues; with what power and strength they assail them openly; by what wiles and subtlety they assault them secretly; with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices; by what craft they frustrate their purposes, and finally by what sleight or
20 means the one getteth the victory.

But here lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not only enough but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite either for the necessity or commodity of life: the which
/ thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries
30 liveth idle, first almost all women, which be the half of the whole number; or else if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this, how great and how idle a company is there of priests and religious men, as they call them? Put thereto all rich men, especially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number

also their servants : I mean all that flock of stout bragging rush-bucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought by whose labour all these things are wrought that in men's affairs are now daily used and frequented. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work how few be occupied in necessary works. For where money beareth all the swing, there many vain and superfluous occupations must needs be used, to serve only 10 for riotous superfluity and dishonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few occupations as the necessary use of nature requireth, in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings. But if all these that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labour than two of the 20 workmen themselves do—if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations, you easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea and too much, to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity or for commodity, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural.

And this in Utopia the thing itself maketh manifest and plain. For there in all the city, with the whole country or shire adjoining to it, scarcely 500 persons of all the whole number of men and women that be neither too old nor 30 too weak to work be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the syphogrants, which (though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labour) yet they exempt not themselves, to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to work. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoy to

whom the people, persuaded by the commendation of the priests and secret election of the syphogrants, have given a perpetual licence from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, often it chanceth that a handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation and
10 promoted to the company of the learned.

Out of this order of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, tranibores, and finally the prince himself; whom they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Ademus. The residue of the people being neither idle nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done and despatched towards those things that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that
20 in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work as other nations do. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh everywhere so many men's continual labour, because that the unthrifty heir suffereth the houses that his father builded in continuance of time to fall in decay. So that which he might have upholden with little cost his successor is constrained to build it again anew, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stood
30 one man in much money, another is of so nice and so delicate a mind that he setteth nothing by it; and it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge. But among the Utopians, where all things be set in good order and the commonwealth in a good stay, it very seldom chanceth that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present faults, but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this means their houses continue and last very long with

little labour and small reparations ; insomuch that this kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do, but that they be commanded to hew timber at home and to square and trim up stones, to the intent that, if any work chance, it may the speedier rise.

Now, sir, in their apparel—mark, I pray you, how few workmen they need. First of all, whilst they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins, that will last seven years. When they go forth abroad they cast upon them a cloak, which hideth the other homely apparel. These 10 cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woollen cloth than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much less cost. But linen cloth is made with less labour, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen cloth only whiteness, in woollen only cleanliness is regarded. As for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places four or five cloth gowns of divers colours, and as many silk coats, be 20 not enough for one man. Yea and if he be of the delicate and nice sort ten be too few ; whereas there one garment will serve a man most commonly two years. For why should he desire more ? Seeing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or covered from cold, neither in his apparel any whit the comelier.

Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same crafts be sufficient, this is the cause that, plenty of all things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable 30 company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestow fewer hours in work. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labours. For why in the institution of that weal public this end is only

and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

V.

Of their Living and Mutual Conversation together.

BUT now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one towards another : what familiar occupying and entertainment there is among the people, and what fashion they
10 use in the distribution of every thing.

First, the city consisteth of families ; the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women, when they be married at a lawful age, they go into their husbands' houses. But the male children with all the whole male offspring continue still in their own family and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he dote for age ; for then the next to him in age is placed in his room.

But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is
20 ordained that no family (which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country) shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout than ten, or more than sixteen ; for of children under this age no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill
30 up the lack of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build

up a town under their own laws in the next land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the same country people to them, if they will join and dwell with them. They thus joining and dwelling together do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell 10 with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities that it cannot be filled up again without the 20 diminishing of the just number of the other cities (which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the land through a great pestilent plague) then they fulfil and make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns, for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and perish than any city of their own island to be diminished.

But now again to the conversation of the citizens among themselves. The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wives be ministers to their husbands, the children to their 30 parents, and, to be short, the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal parts or quarters. In the midst of every quarter there is a market place of all manner of things. Thither the works of every family be brought into certain houses. And every kind of thing is laid up several in barns or storehouses. From hence the father of
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every family, or every householder, fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without gage, pawn or pledge. For why should any thing be denied unto him? Seeing there is abundance of all things and that it is not to be feared lest any man will ask more than he needeth. For why should it be thought that that man would ask more than enough which is sure never to lack? Certainly in all kinds of living creatures either fear of lack doth cause
10 covetousness and ravin, or in man only pride; which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the Utopians can have no place.

Next to the market places that I spake of stand meat markets, whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish and all manner of four-footed beasts and wild fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and ordure thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city, in places appointed
20 meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they think clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air, by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases.

Moreover every street hath certain great large halls set in
30 equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell the syphogrants. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, on either side fifteen. The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls.

But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that

be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample and so large, that they may seem four little towns, which were devised of that bigness partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily and incommodiously, and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so 10 well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given, that, though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city that had not rather lie there than at home in his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop, 20 the tranibores, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also, when they be there, have certain several houses appointed and prepared for them.

To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper cometh all the whole syphogranty or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet, except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house, for they know that 30 no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly, because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall all vile service, all

slavery and drudgery, with all laboursome toil and base business, is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething and dressing the meat and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall and the women against them on the other side of the table, that if any sudden evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women, they may rise
10 without trouble or disturbance of anybody and go thence into the nursery.

The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings in a certain parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing clothes and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the
20 syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done ; for they that can do it proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that, because that there this kind of pity is much praised ; and the child that is nourished ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables or else, if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given
30 to them from the table they eat, and other several dinner-time they have none. The syphogrant and his wife sit in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit four

at a mess. But if there be a church standing in that syphogrant or ward, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the syphogranty, as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men. And thus throughout all the house equal of age be set together, and yet be mixed and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the youngers from wanton licence of words and behaviour. Forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the 10 table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties as they think best to the younger on each side of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one.

They begin every dinner and supper of reading something 20 that pertaineth to good manners and virtue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unpleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole dinner-time themselves with long and tedious talks, but they gladly hear also the young men, yea, and purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man's wit and towardness or disposition to virtue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth show and utter itself. Their dinners be very short; but their 30 suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper sleep and natural rest, which they think to be of more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without music. Nor their banquets lack no conceits nor junkets. They burn sweet gums and spices or perfumes and pleasant smells, and

sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheering of the company. For they be much inclined to this opinion: to think no kind of pleasure forbidden whereof cometh no harm.

Thus therefore and after this sort they live together in the city, but in the country they that dwell alone far from any neighbours do dine and sup at home in their own houses. For no family there lacketh any kind of victuals, as from whom cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.

VI.

Of their journeying or travelling abroad, with divers other matters cunningly reasoned, and wittily discussed.

- 10 But if any be desirous to visit either their friends dwelling in another city or to see the place itself, they easily obtain licence of their syphogrants and tranibores, unless there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone, but a company is sent forth together with their prince's letters, which do testify that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their return. They have a waggon given them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen and taketh charge of them. But unless they have women in their company, they send home the
20 waggon again, as an impediment and a let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their journey they lack nothing. For wheresoever they come, they be at home. If they tarry in a place longer than one day, then there every one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workmen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his own head and without leave walk out of his precinct and bounds, taken without the prince's letters he is brought again for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply

punished. If he be taken in that fault again, he is punished with bondage.

If any be desirous to walk abroad into the fields, or into the country that belongeth to the same city that he dwelleth in, obtaining the goodwill of his father and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the country soever he cometh he hath no meat given him until he have wrought out his forenoon's task, or despatched so much work as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whither he will 10 within the bounds of his own city. For he shall be no less profitable to the city than if he were within it.

Now you see how little liberty they have to loiter: how they can have no cloak or pretence to idleness. There be neither wine taverns, nor ale-houses, nor any occasion of vice or wickedness: no lurking corners, no places of wicked counsels or unlawful assemblies. But they be in the present sight, and under the eyes of every man. So that of necessity they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes. 20

This fashion and trade of life being used among the people, it cannot be chosen but they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things. And seeing they be all thereof partners equally, therefore can no man there be poor or needy. In the council of Amaurote, whither, as I said, every city sendeth three men apiece yearly, as soon as it is perfectly known of what things there is in every place plenty, and again what things be scant in any place, incontinent the lack of the one is performed and filled up with the abundance of the other. And this they do freely without any benefit, taking nothing 30 again of them to whom the thing is given, but those cities that have given of their store to any other city that lacketh, requiring nothing again of the same city, do take such things as they lack of another city, to the which they gave nothing. So the whole island is as it were one family, or household.

But when they have made sufficient provision or store for themselves (which they think not done until they have provided for two years following, because of the uncertainty of the next year's proof) then of those things whereof they have abundance they carry forth into other countries great plenty : as grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, madder, purple dye, fells, wax, tallow, leather, and living beasts. And the seventh part of all these things they give frankly and freely to the poor of that country. The residue they sell at a
10 reasonable and mean price. By this trade of traffic or merchandise they bring into their own country not only great plenty of gold and silver, but also all such things as they lack at home, which is almost nothing but iron. And by reason they have long used this trade, now they have more abundance of these things than any man will believe. Now therefore they care not whether they sell for ready money, or else upon trust to be paid at a day and to have the most part in debts. But in so doing they never follow the credence of private men, but the assurance or warrantise
20 of the whole city, by instruments and writings made in that behalf accordingly. When the day of payment has come and expired, the city gathereth up the debt of the private debtors and putteth it into the common box, and so long hath the use and profit of it until the Utopians, their creditors, demand it. The most part of it they never ask. For that thing which is to them no profit to take it from other, to whom it is profitable, they think it no right nor conscience. But if the case so stand that they must lend part of that money to another people, then they require their
30 debt ; or when they have war. For the which purpose only they keep at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and succoured by it either in extreme jeopardies, or in sudden dangers. But especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great wages, strange soldiers. For they had rather put strangers in jeopardy than their own countrymen, knowing that for money enough their enemies

themselves many times may be bought or sold, or else through treason be set together by the ears among themselves. For this purpose they keep an inestimable treasure ; but yet not as a treasure ; but so they have it and use it as in good faith I am ashamed to show, fearing that my words shall not be believed. And this I have more cause to fear, for that I know how difficultly and hardly I myself would have believed another man telling the same, if I had not presently seen it with mine own eyes. For it must needs be that how far a thing is dissonant and disagreeing from the 10 guise and trade of the hearers, so far shall it be out of their belief. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things will not greatly marvel perchance, seeing all their other laws and customs do so much differ from ours, if the use also of gold and silver among them be applied rather to their own fashions than to ours. I mean in that they occupy not money themselves, but keep it for that chance, which as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass.

In the meantime gold and silver, whereof money is made, they do so use as none of them doth more esteem it than the 20 very nature of the thing deserveth. And then, who doth not plainly see how far it is under iron, as without the which men can no better live than without fire and water ? Whereas to gold and silver nature hath given no use that we may not well lack, if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness sake. But of the contrary part, nature as a most tender and loving mother hath placed the best and most necessary things open abroad : as the air, the water and the earth itself, and hath removed and hid farthest from us vain and unprofitable things. Therefore if 30 these metals among them should be fast locked up in some tower, it might be suspected that the prince and the council (as the people is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some subtlety to deceive the commons, and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore, if they should make thereof plate and such other finely and cunningly wrought stuff : if

at any time they should have occasion to break it and melt it again, therewith to pay their soldiers' wages, they see and perceive very well that men would be loath to part from those things that they once began to have pleasure and delight in.

To remedy all this they have found out a means, which, as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant, and therefore
10 incredible—but only to them that be wise. For whereas they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels, which indeed be curiously and properly made and yet be of very small value, of gold and silver they make commonly pots and other vessels that serve for most vile uses, not only in their common halls but in every man's private house. Furthermore of the same metals they make great chains, fetters and
1 gyves, wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally, whosoever for any offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold, upon their fingers they wear rings of gold, and about their
20 necks chains of gold, and in conclusion their heads be tied about with gold. Thus by all means possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And these metals, which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forgo as in a manner their own lives, if they should altogether at once be taken from the Utopians, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

They gather also pearls by the sea-side, and diamonds and carbuncles upon certain rocks; and yet they seek not for
30 them; but by chance finding them they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck their young infants. Which, like as in the first years of their childhood they make much and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in years and discretion, perceiving that none but children do wear such toys and trifles, they lay them away even of their own shamefacedness, without any

bidding of their parents : even as our children, when they wax big, do cast away nuts, brooches and puppets. Therefore these laws and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fantasies also and minds they do cause did I never so plainly perceive as in the ambassadors of the Anemolians.

These ambassadors came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weighty matters, those three citizens apiece out of every city were come thither before them. But all the ambassadors of the 10 next countries, which had been there before and knew the fashions and manners of the Utopians, among whom they perceived no honour given to sumptuous apparel, silks to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the Anemolians, because they dwell far thence and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to have the things which they did not wear, being therefore more proud than wise, determined in the gorgeous- 20 ness of their apparel to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistening of their gay clothing to dazzle the eyes of the silly poor Utopians. So there came in three ambassadors with a hundred servants all apparelled in changeable colours, the most of them in silks, the ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own country they were noblemen) in cloth of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their ears, with gold rings upon their fingers, with brooches and aglets of gold upon their caps, which glistered full of pearls and precious stones—to be 30 short, trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for young children to play withal. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart to have seen how proudly they displayed their peacock's feathers, how much they made of

their painted sheaths and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant apparel with the poor raiment of the Utopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streets. And on the other side it was no less pleasure to consider how much they were deceived and how far they missed of their purpose, being contrariwise taken than they thought they should have been. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, except very few, which had been in other countries for some reasonable
10 cause, all that gorgeousness of apparel seemed shameful and reproachful: insomuch that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lords, passing over the ambassadors themselves without any honour, judging them by their wearing of gold chains to be bondmen. Yea, you should have seen children also, that had cast away their pearls and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors' caps, dig and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them: Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as
20 though he were a little child still. But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: Peace, son, saith she; I think he be some of the ambassadors' fools. Some found fault at their golden chains, as to no use nor purpose, being so small and weak that a bondman might easily break them, and again so wide and large that, when it pleased him, he might cast them off and run away at liberty whither he would.

But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea
30 in no less reproach than it was with them in honour, and besides that more gold in the chains and gyves of one fugitive bondman than all the costly ornaments of them three was worth, they began to abate their courage and for very shame laid away all that gorgeous array, whereof they were so proud; and specially when they had talked familiarly with the Utopians, and had learned all their fashions and opinions.

For they marvel that any men be so foolish as to have delight and pleasure in the doubtful glistening of a little trifling stone, which may behold any of the stars or else the sun itself. Or that any man is so mad as to count himself the nobler for the smaller or finer thread of wool, which selfsame wool (be it now in never so fine a spun thread) a sheep did once wear ; and yet was she all that time no other thing than a sheep. They marvel also that gold, which of the own nature is a thing so unprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation that man himself, by whom, 10 yea and for the use of whom, it is so much set by, is in much less estimation than the gold itself. Insomuch that a lumpish blockheaded churl, and which hath no more wit than an ass, yea and as full of naughtiness as of folly, shall have nevertheless many wise and good men in subjection and bondage only for this, because he hath a great heap of gold. Which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, or by some subtle wile and cautel of the law (which no less than fortune doth both raise up the low and pluck down the high) and be given to the most vile slave and abject drivel 20 of all his household, then shortly after he shall go into the service of his servant, as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they much more marvel at and detest the madness of them which to those rich men in whose debt and danger they be not do give almost divine honours, for none other consideration but because they be rich, and yet knowing them to be such nigesh penny-fathers, that they be sure as long as they live not the worth of one farthing of that heap of gold shall come to them.

These and such like opinions have they conceived, partly 30 by education, being brought up in that commonwealth whose laws and customs be far different from these kinds of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in every city which be exempt and discharged of ail other labours, and appointed only to learning—that is to say, such in whom even from their very

childhood they have perceived a singular towardness, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning—yet all in their childhood be instruct in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and women, throughout all their whole life do bestow in learning those spare hours which we said they have vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning in their own native tongue. For it is both copious in words and also pleasant to the ear, and for the utterance of a man's mind very perfect and sure. The most
10 part of all that side of the world useth the same language, saving that among the Utopians it is finest and purest, and according to the diversity of the countries it is diversely altered. Of all these philosophers whose names be here famous in this part of the world to us known, before our coming thither not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in music, logic, arithmetic and geometry they have found out in a manner all that our ancient philosophers have taught. But as they in all things be almost equal to our old ancient clerks, so our new
20 logicians in subtle inventions have far passed and gone beyond them. For they have not devised one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, very wittily invented in the small logicals, which here our children in every place do learn. Furthermore they were never yet able to find out the second intentions: insomuch that none of them all could ever see man himself in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger than ever was any giant, yea and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be in the course of the stars and the
30 movings of the heavenly spheres very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised instruments of divers fashions: wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and situations of the sun, the moon, and of all the other stars which appear in their horizon. But as for the amities and dissensions of the planets, and all that deceitful divination by the stars, they never as much as

dreamed thereof. Rains, winds, and other courses of tempests they know before by certain tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of all these things and of the ebbing, flowing and saltness of the sea, and finally of the original beginning and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old philosophers hold, and partly, as our philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whiles they bring new reasons of things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they do not accord. 10

In that part of philosophy which treateth of manners and virtue their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soul, of the body, and of fortune ; and whether the name of goodness may be applied to all these, or only to the endowments and gifts of the soul. They reason of virtue and pleasure. But the chief and principal question is in what thing, be it one or more, the felicity of man consisteth. But in this point they seem almost too much given and inclined to the opinion of them which defend pleasure, wherein they determine either all or 20 the chiefest part of man's felicity to rest. And (which is more to be marvelled at) the defence of this so dainty and delicate an opinion they fetch even from their grave, sharp, bitter and rigorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessedness but they join unto the reasons of philosophy certain principles taken out of religion, without the which to the investigation of true felicity they think reason of itself weak and imperfect. Those principles be these and such like : that the soul is immortal, and by the bountiful goodness of God ordained to felicity : that to our 30 virtues and good deeds rewards be appointed after this life, and to our evil deeds punishments. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they think it meet that they should be believed and granted by proofs of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disannulled, then without any delay they pronounce no man to be so foolish

which would not do all his diligence and endeavour to obtain pleasure by right or wrong, only avoiding this inconvenience, that the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger, or that he laboured not for that pleasure which would bring after it displeasure, grief and sorrow. For they judge it extreme madness to follow sharp and painful virtue, and not only to banish the pleasure of life but also willingly to suffer grief, without any hope of profit thereof ensuing. For what profit can there be, if a
10 man, when he hath passed over all his life unpleasantly, that is to say miserably, shall have no reward after his death?

But now, sir, they think not felicity to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honest, and that hereto, as to perfect blessedness, our nature is allured and drawn even of virtue; whereto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicity. For they define virtue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordained of God. And that he doth follow the
20 course of nature which in desiring and refusing things is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the love and veneration of the divine majesty; of whose goodness it is that we be, and that we be in possibility to attain felicity. And that, secondly, it both stirreth and provoketh us to lead our life out of care in joy and mirth, and also moveth us to help and further all other in respect of the society of nature to obtain and enjoy the same. For there was never man so earnest and painful a follower of virtue and hater of pleasure that would so
30 enjoin you labours, watchings and fastings, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten and relieve, to your power, the lack and misery of others, praising the same as a deed of humanity and pity. Then if it be a point of humanity for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a virtue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of others, and by taking from

them the sorrow and heaviness of life to restore them to joy, that is to say, to pleasure, why may it not then be said that nature doth provoke every man to do the same to himself?

For a joyful life, that is to say a pleasant life, is either evil—and if it be so, then thou shouldest not only help no man thereto, but rather, as much as in thee lieth, withdraw all men from it, as noisome and hurtful—or else, if thou not only mayst but also of duty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to thyself? To whom thou art bound to show as much favour and gentleness as to other. For when 10 nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself. Therefore even very nature (say they) prescribeth to us a joyful life, that is to say pleasure, as the end of all our operations. And they define virtue to be life ordered according to the prescript of nature. But in that that nature doth allure and provoke men one to help another to live merrily (which surely she doth not without a good cause; for no man is so far above the lot of man's state or condition that nature doth cark and care for him only, which equally 20 favoureth all that be comprehended under the communion of one shape, form and fashion) verily she commandeth thee to use diligent circumspection that thou do not so seek for thine own commodities that thou procure others incommodities.

Wherefore their opinion is that not only covenants and bargains made among private men ought to be well and faithfully fulfilled, observed and kept, but also common laws, which either a good prince hath justly published, or else the people, neither oppressed with tyranny neither deceived by fraud and guile, hath by their common consent 30 constituted and ratified concerning the partition of the commodities of life, that is to say the matter of pleasure. These laws not offended, it is wisdom that thou look to thine own wealth. And to do the same for the commonwealth is no less than thy duty, if thou bearest any reverent love or any natural zeal and affection to thy native country. But to go

about to let another man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine own, that is open wrong. Contrariwise to withdraw something from thyself to give to other, that is a point of humanity and gentleness ; which never taketh away so much commodity as it bringeth again. For it is recompensed with the return of benefits ; and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thankful love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy mind than that which thou hast
10 withholden from thyself could have brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and everlasting joy. Therefore the matter diligently weighed and considered, thus they think : that all our actions, and in them the virtues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their end and felicity.

Pleasure they call every motion and state of the body or mind wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite
20 they join to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as not only the senses but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant, so that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure nor causing painful labour, even so those things that men by vain imagination do feign against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things, as they do the names of things) all such pleasures they believe to be of so small help and furtherance to felicity, that they count them a great let and hindrance.
30 Because that in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they possess with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and natural delectations. For there be many things which of their own nature contain no pleasantness—yea the most part of them much grief and sorrow—and yet through the perverse and malicious flickering enticements of lewd and dishonest desires be taken not

only for special and sovereign pleasures, but also be counted among the chief causes of life.

In this counterfeit kind of pleasure they put them that I spake of before, which, the better gowns they have on, the better men they think themselves. In the which thing they do twice err. For they be no less deceived in that they think their gown the better, than they be in that they think themselves the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garment, why should wool of a finer spun thread be thought better than the wool of a coarse spun thread? 10 Yet they, as though the one did pass the other by nature and not by their mistaking, advance themselves and think the price of their own persons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honour which in a coarse gown they durst not have looked for they require, as it were of duty, for their finer gown's sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasantly and disdainfully.

And again, is it not like madness to take a pride in vain and unprofitable honours? For what natural or true pleasure dost thou take of another man's bare head or bowed 20 knees? Will this ease the pain of thy knees, or remedy the frenzy of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleasure they be of a marvellous madness which for the opinion of nobility rejoyce much in their own conceit, because it was their fortune to come of such ancestors whose stock of long time had been counted rich (for now nobility is nothing else), specially rich in lands. And though their ancestors left them not one foot of land, or else they themselves have squandered it away, yet they think themselves not the less noble therefore of one hair.

30

In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight (as I said) in gems and precious stones, and think themselves almost gods if they chance to get an excellent one, specially of that kind which in that time of their own countrymen is had in highest estimation. For one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries and at

all times. Nor they buy them not but taken out of the gold and bare : no nor so neither, until they have made the seller to swear that he will warrant and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gem. Such care they take lest a counterfeit stone should deceive their eyes instead of a right stone. But why shouldst thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eye cannot discern from a right stone ? They should both be of like value to thee, even as to the blind man. What shall I
10 say of them that keep superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholding, and not in the use or occupying thereof ? Do they take true pleasure, or else be they deceived with false pleasure ? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they shall never occupy, nor peradventure never see more ? And whiles they take care lest they shall leese it, do leese it indeed. For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their own use and perchance from all other men's also ? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy treasure, as one out
20 of all care, hoppest for joy. The which treasure, if it should chance to be stolen, and thou ignorant of the theft shouldst die ten years after, all that ten years' space that thou livedst after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to thee whether it had been taken away or else safe as thou leftest it ? Truly both ways like profit came to thee.

To these so foolish pleasures they join dicers, whose madness they know by hearsay and not by use. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the dice upon a table—which thou hast done so
30 often, that if there were any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee weary thereof ? Or what delight can there be, and not rather displeasure, in hearing the barking and howling of dogs ? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt when a dog followeth an hare, than when a dog followeth a dog ? for one thing is done in both, that is to say, running ; if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter

and the expectation of tearing in pieces the beast doth please thee, thou shouldest rather be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog, the weak of the stronger, the fearful of the fierce, the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their butchers, to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, the vilest and most abject part of butchery, and the other parts of it more profitable and more honest, as bringing 10 much more commodity, in that they kill beasts only for necessity ; whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and woful beast's slaughter and murder. The which pleasure in beholding death they think doth rise in the very beasts either of a cruel affection of mind, or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty by long use of so cruel a pleasure. These therefore and all such like, which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no natural pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to 20 have no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they do commonly move the sense with delectation (which seemeth to be a work of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewd custom is the cause hereof, which causeth them to accept bitter or sour things for sweet things. Howbeit no man's judgment depraved and corrupt, either by sickness or by custom, can change the nature of pleasure, more than it can do the nature of other things. 30

They make divers kinds of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soul, and some to the body. To the soul they give intelligence and that delectation that cometh of the contemplation of truth. Hereunto is joined the pleasant remembrance of the good life past.

The pleasure of the body they divide into two parts. The

first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceived, which many times chanceth by the renewing and refreshing of those parts which our natural heat drieth up ; or sometimes pleasure ariseth which tickleth and moveth our senses, as is that which cometh of music. The second part of bodily pleasure, they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and upright state of the body. And that truly is every man's own proper health, intermingled and disturbed with no grief. For this, if it be not let nor assaulted with
10 no grief, is delectable of itself, though it be moved with no external or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manifest to the sense as the greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet nevertheless many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the Utopians grant it to be a right sovereign pleasure and, as you would say, the foundation and ground of all pleasures, as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant ; and, it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without grief, not having health, that
20 they call insensibility and not pleasure. The Utopians have long ago rejected and condemned the opinion of them which said that steadfast and quiet health (for this question also hath been diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot be presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion. But of the contrary part now they agree almost all in this, that health is a most sovereign pleasure. For seeing that in sickness (say they) is grief, which is a mortal enemy to pleasure, even as sickness is to health, why should not
30 then pleasure be in the quietness of health ? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sickness is a grief, or that in sickness is grief, for all cometh to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure itself, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both ways it followeth that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfect health. Furthermore, whiles we eat (say they)

then health, which began to be appaired, fighteth by the help of food against hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by little and little getteth the upper hand, that same proceeding and (as ye would say) that onwardness to the wont strength minist'reth that pleasure whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is joyful, shall it not be merry when it hath gotten the victory? But as soon as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing only in all the fight it coveted, shall it incontinent be astonied? Nor shall it not know nor embrace 10 the own wealth and goodness? For that it is said health cannot be felt, this, they think, is nothing true. For what man waking, say they, feeleth not himself in health, but he that is not? Is there any man so possessed with stonish insensibility, or with the lethargy, that he will not grant health to be acceptable to him and delectable? But what other thing is delectation than that which by another name is called pleasure?

They embrace chiefly the pleasures of the mind. For them they count the chiefest and most principal of all. The 20 chief part of them they think doth come of the exercise of virtue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body minist'reth they give the pre-eminence to health. For the delight of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasantness, they determine to be pleasures much to be desired, but no other ways than for health's sake. For such things of their own proper nature be not so pleasant but in that they resist sickness privily stealing on. Therefore, like as it is a wise man's part rather to avoid sickness than to wish for medicines, and rather to drive 30 away and put to flight careful griefs than to call for comfort, so it is much better not to need this kind of pleasure than thereby to be eased of the contrary grief. The which kind of pleasure if any man take for his felicity, that man must needs grant that then he shall be in most felicity, if he live that life which is led in continual hunger,

thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching and rubbing. The which life how not only foul and dishonest, but also how miserable and wretched it is, who perceiveth not? These doubtless be the basest pleasures of all, as impure and imperfect. For they never come but accompanied with their contrary griefs. As with the pleasure of eating is joined hunger, and that after no very equal sort. For of these two the grief is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth
10 not until the pleasure die with it.

Wherefore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they have delight also in these, and thankfully acknowledge the tender love of mother nature, which with most pleasant delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessary use whereof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefs of hunger and thirst could not be driven away but with bitter potions and sour medicines, as the
20 other diseases be wherewith we be seldom troubled? But beauty, strength, nimbleness, these as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature they make much of. But those pleasures that be received by the ears, the eyes and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other living creature doth behold the fairness and the beauty of the world, or is moved with any respect of savours but only for the diversity of meats, neither perceiveth the concordant and discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and allow as certain pleasant rejoicings of
30 life. But in all things this cautel they use, that a less pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, which they think to follow of necessity if the pleasure be dishonest. But yet to despise the comeliness of beauty, to waste the bodily strength, to turn nimbleness into sluggishness, to consume and make feeble the body with fasting, to do injury to health, and to reject the pleasant

motions of nature (unless a man neglect these commodities whiles he doth with a fervent zeal procure the wealth of others or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborne he is in hope of a greater pleasure at God's hand) else for a vain shadow of virtue, for the wealth and profit of no man, to punish himself, or to the intent he may be able courageously to suffer adversity, which perchance shall never come to him—this to do they think a point of extreme madness, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himself and unkind towards nature, as one so disdainng to be in her danger that 10 he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits.

This is their sentence and opinion of virtue and pleasure. And they believe that by man's reason none can be found truer than this, unless any godlier be inspired into man from heaven. Wherein whether they believe well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discuss, neither it is now necessary. For we have taken upon us to show and declare their lores and ordinances, and not to defend them.

But this thing I believe verily, howsoever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world neither a more 20 excellent people neither a more flourishing commonwealth. They be light and quick of body, full of activity and nimbleness, and of more strength than a man would judge them by their stature, which for all that is not too low. And though their soil be not very fruitful, nor their air very wholesome, yet against the air they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent travail, that in no country is greater increase, and plenty of corn and cattle, nor men's bodies of longer life and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There therefore a man may see well and 30 diligently exploited and furnished not only those things which husbandmen do commonly in other countries, as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrenness of the ground, but also a whole wood by the hands of the people plucked up by the roots in one place and set again in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration not of plenty but

of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is less labour and business to carry grain far by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merry, quick and fine-witted, delighting in quietness, and, when need requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it ; but in the exercise and study of the mind they be never weary.

When they had heard me speak of the Greek literature or
10 learning (for in Latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides historians and poets) they made wonderful earnest and importunate suit unto me that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read unto them, at the first truly more because I would not seem to refuse the labour than that I hoped that they would anything profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vain. For they began so easily to fashion their letters, so plainly
20 to pronounce the words, so quickly to learn by heart and so surely to rehearse the same, that I marvelled at it, saving that the most part of them were fine and chosen wits and of ripe age, picked out of the company of the learned men, which not only of their own free and voluntary will but also by the commandment of the council undertook to learn this language. Therefore in less than three years' space there was nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked. They were able to read good authors without any stay, if the book were not false. This kind of learning, as I suppose, they
30 took so much the sooner because it is somewhat allied to them. For I think that this nation took their beginning of the Greeks because their speech, which in all other points is not much unlike the Persian tongue, keepeth divers signs and tokens of the Greek language in the names of their cities and of their magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determined to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into

the ship in the stead of merchandise a pretty fardel of books, because I intended to come again rather never than shortly) they have, I say, of me the most part of Plato's works, more of Aristotle's, also Theophrastus of plants, but in divers places (which I am sorry for) imperfect. For whilst we were a shipboard, a marmoset chanced upon the book, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith plucked out certain leaves and tore them in pieces. Of them that have written the grammar, they have only Lascaris. For Theodorus I carried not with me, nor never a dictionary 10 but Hesychius, and Dioscorides. They set great store by Plutarch's books. And they be delighted with Lucian's merry conceits and jests. Of the poets they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus' small print. Of the historians they have Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion Tricius Apinatus carried with him physic books, certain small works of Hippocrates and Galen's Microtechne ; the which book they have in great estimation. For though there be almost no nation under heaven that hath less need of physic than they, yet this 20 notwithstanding physic is nowhere in greater honour ; because they count the knowledge of it among the goodliest and most profitable parts of philosophy. For whiles they by the help of this philosophy search out the secret mysteries of nature, they think themselves to receive thereby not only wonderful great pleasure, but also to obtain great thanks and favour of the author and maker thereof. Whom they think, according to the fashion of other artificers, to have set forth the marvellous and gorgeous frame of the world for man with great affection attentively to behold. Whom only 30 he hath made of wit and capacity to consider and understand the excellence of so great a work. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwill and love to the curious and diligent beholder and viewer of his work and marveller at the same, than he doth to him which, like a very brute beast without wit and reason or as one without sense or

moving, hath no regard to so great and so wonderful a spectacle.

The wits therefore of the Utopians, inured and exercised in learning, be marvellous quick in the invention of feats helping anything to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit two feats they may thank us for : that is, the science of imprinting and the craft of making paper. And yet not only us but chiefly and principally themselves. For when we showed to them Aldus his print in books of paper, and
10 told them of the stuff whereof paper is made, and of the feat of graving letters, speaking somewhat more than we could plainly declare (for there was none of us that knew perfectly either the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily conjectured the thing. And whereas before they wrote only in skins, in barks of trees and in reeds, now they have attempted to make paper and to imprint letters. And though at the first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same they shortly got the feat of both ; and have so brought the matter about, that if they had copies of
20 Greek authors they could lack no books. But now they have no more than I rehearsed before, saving that by printing of books they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of copies.

Whosoever cometh thither to see the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying well experienced and seen in the knowledge of many countries (for the which cause we were very welcome to them), him they receive and entertain wonders gently and lovingly. For they have delight to hear what is done in
30 every land. Howbeit very few merchantmen come thither. For what should they bring thither, unless it were iron, or else gold and silver, which they had rather carry home again ? Also such things as are to be carried out of their land, they think it more wisdom to carry that gear forth themselves, than that other should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better know the outlands on

every side of them and keep in use the feat and knowledge of sailing.

VII.

Of Bondmen, Sick Persons, Wedlock, and divers
other Matters.

THEY neither make bondmen of prisoners taken in battle, unless it be in battle that they fought themselves, nor of bondmen's children, nor (to be short) of any such as they can get out of foreign countries, though he were there a bondman, but either such as among themselves for heinous offences be punished with bondage, or else such as in the cities of other lands for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store. 10

For many of them they bring home, sometimes paying very little for them, yea most commonly getting them for gramercy. These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continual work and labour, but also in bands. But their own men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punishment, because they being so godly brought up to virtue in so excellent a commonwealth could not for all that be refrained from misdoing.

Another kind of bondmen they have, when a vile drudge 20 being a poor labourer in another country doth choose of his own free will to be a bondman among them. These they entreat and order honestly, and entertain almost as gently as their own free citizens, saving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence (which seldom is seen) they neither hold him against his will, neither send him away with empty hands.

The sick (as I said) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all pass concerning either physic or good diet 30

whereby they may be restored again to their health. Such as be sick of incurable diseases they comfort with sitting by them, with talking with them and, to be short, with all manner of helps that may be. But if the disease be not only incurable but also full of continual pain and anguish, then the priests and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to do any duty of life, and by overliving his own death is noisome and irksome to other and grievous to himself, that he will determine with himself no longer to
10 cherish that pestilent and painful disease and, seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be unwilling to die, but rather take a good hope to him and either despatch himself out of that painful life, as out of a prison or a rack of torment, or else suffer himself willingly to be rid out of it by other. And in so doing they tell him he shall do wisely, seeing by his death he shall lose no commodity, but end his pain. And because in that act he shall follow the counsel of the priests, that is to say of the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they show him that he shall do like a godly
20 and a virtuous man. They that be thus persuaded finish their lives willingly, either with hunger, or else die in their sleep without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will, nor they use no less diligence and attendance about him, believing this to be an honourable death. Else he that killeth himself before that the priests and the council have allowed the cause of his death, him as unworthy either to be buried or with fire to be consumed, they cast unburied into some stinking marish.

The woman is not married before she be eighteen years
30 old. The man is four years older before he marry. And matrimony is there never broken, but by death; except infidelity break the bond, or else the intolerable wayward manners of either party. For if either of them find themselves for any such cause grieved, they may by the licence of the council change and take another. But the other party liveth ever after in infamy and out of wedlock. Howbeit,

the husband to put away his wife for no other fault but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no means they will suffer. For they judge it a great point of cruelty that anybody in their most need of help and comfort should be cast off and forsaken, and that old age, which both bringeth sickness with it and is a sickness itself, should unkindly and unfaithfully be dealt withal. But now and then it chanceth, whereas the man and the woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding other, with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that 10 they by the full consent of them both be divorced asunder and married again to other. But that not without the authority of the council; which agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wives have diligently tried and examined the matter. Yea and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to break love between man and wife, to be in easy hope of a new marriage.

Breakers of wedlock be punished with most grievous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then 20 the parties which in that behalf have suffered wrong be married together, if they will, or else to whom they list. But if either of them both do still continue in love toward so unkind a consort, the privilege of wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the party faultless be disposed to follow in toiling and drudgery the person which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft it chanceth that the repentance of the one and the earnest diligence of the other doth so move the prince with pity and compassion, that he restoreth the bond person from servitude to liberty and 30 freedom again. But if the same party be taken eftsoons in that fault, there is no other way but death.

To other trespasses no prescript punishment is appointed by any law, but according to the heinousness of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the council. The husbands chastise their wives, and

the parents their children, unless they have done any so horrible an offence that the open punishment thereof maketh much for the advancement of honest manners. But most commonly the most heinous faults be punished with the incommodity of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no less grief, and to the commonwealth more profit, than if they should hastily put them to death and so make them quite out of the way. For there cometh more profit of their labour than of their death, and by their
10 example they fear other the longer from like offences. But if they being thus used do rebel and kick again, then forsooth they be slain as desperate and wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chain could restrain and keep under. But they which take their bondage patiently be not left all hopeless. For after they have been broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they show such repentance as thereby it may be perceived that they be sorrier for their offence than for their punishment, sometimes by the prince's prerogative, and sometimes by the voice and consent of the
20 people, their bondage either is mitigated or else clean released and forgiven. He that moveth to an evil act is in no less danger and jeopardy than if he had committed the evil act indeed. For in all offences they count the intent and purpose as evil as the act or deed itself, thinking that no let ought to excuse him that did his best to have no let.

They have singular delight and pleasure in fools. And as it is a great reproach to do any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibit not to take pleasure of foolishness. For that, they think, doth much good to the fools. And if any man
30 be so sad and stern that he cannot laugh neither at their words, nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition, for fear lest he would not treat them gently and favourably enough, to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodness in them is none), much less any profit should they yield him.

To mock a man for his deformity, or for that he lacketh

any part or limb of his body, is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh ; which unwisely doth upbraid any man of that as a vice that was not in his power to eschew. Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him that regardeth not natural beauty and comeliness, so to help the same with paintings is taken for a vain and a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know, even by very experience, that no comeliness of beauty doth so highly commend and advance the wives in the conceit of their husbands as honest 10 conditions and lowliness. For as love is oftentimes won with beauty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued but by virtue and obedience.

They do not only fear their people from doing evil by punishments, but also allure them to virtue with rewards of honour. Therefore they set up in the market-place the images of notable men, and of such as have been great and bountiful benefactors to the commonwealth, for the perpetual memory of their good acts, and also that the glory and renown of the ancestors may stir and provoke their 20 posterity to virtue. He that inordinately and ambitiously desireth promotions is left all hopeless for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly. For no magistrate is either haughty or fearful. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they use themselves. The citizens (as it is their duty) willingly exhibit unto them due honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himself is not known from the other by princely apparel or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diadem royal or cap of maintenance, but by a little sheaf of corn carried before him. And so a 30 taper of wax is borne before the bishop, whereby only he is known.

They have but few laws. For to people so instruct and institute very few do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable books of laws and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they

think it against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker than that any man can well understand them. Furthermore they utterly exclude and banish all attorneys, proctors, and sergeants at the law, which craftily handle matters and subtly dispute of the laws. For they think it most meet that every man should plead his own matter, and tell the same tale before the judge that he would tell to his man of law. So shall
10 there be less circumstance of words, and the truth shall sooner come to light, whiles the judge with a discreet judgment doth weigh the words of him whom no lawyer hath instruct with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wits against the false and malicious circumventions of crafty children. This is hard to be observed in other countries, in so infinite a number of blind and intricate laws. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawyer. For (as I said) they have very few laws, and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just.
20 For all laws (say they) be made and published only to the intent that by them every man should be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtle interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attain thereto) can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, the plain and gross meaning of the laws is open to every man.

Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them that no law were made at all as, when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation
30 upon it that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it? To the finding out whereof neither the gross judgment of the people can attain, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings can suffice thereto.

These virtues of the Utopians have caused their next neighbours and borderers, which live free and under no

subjection (for the Utopians long ago, have delivered many of them from tyranny) to take magistrates of them, some for a year and some for five years' space. Which, when the time of their office is expired, they bring home again with honour and praise, and take new again with them into their country. These nations have undoubtedly very well and wholesomely provided for their commonwealths. For seeing that both the making and marring of the weal public doth depend and hang upon the manners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen, 10 than those which cannot be led from honesty by bribes (for to them that shortly after shall depart thence into their own country money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved either with favour or malice towards any man, as being strangers, and unacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in judgments, incontinent they break justice, the strongest and surest bond of a commonwealth. These peoples, which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians call their fellows. And other, to whom they have been bene- 20 ficial, they call their friends.

As touching leagues, which in other places between country and country be so oft concluded, broken, and renewed, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they; as though nature had not set sufficient love between man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, think you that he will pass for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly because that in those parts of the world leagues between princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in 30 Europe, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere esteemed holy and inviolable, partly through the justice and goodness of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head bishops. Which, like as they make no promise themselves but they do very religiously perform

the same, so they exhort all princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or deny so to do by their pontifical power and authority they compel thereto. And surely they think well that it might seem a very reproachful thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithful, faith should have no place.

But in that new-found part of the world, which is scarcely so far from us beyond the line equinoctial as our life and manners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor
10 confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremonies the league is knit up with, the sooner it is broken by some cavillation found in the words, which many times of purpose be so craftily put in and placed that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong but they will find some hole open to creep out at, and to break both league and truth. The which crafty dealing, yea the which fraud and deceit, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargains and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an
20 open mouth and a sour countenance, as an offence most detestable and worthy to be punished with a shameful death—yea even very they that advance themselves authors of like counsel given to princes. Wherefore it may well be thought either that all justice is but a base and a low virtue, and which availeth itself far under the high dignity of kings, or at the leastwise that there be two justices—the one meet for the inferior sort of the people, going afoot and creeping low by the ground, and bound down on every side with many bands because it shall not run at rovers—
30 the other a princely virtue, which, like as it is of much higher majesty than the other poor justice, so also it is of much more liberty, as to the which nothing is unlawful that it lusteth after. These manners of princes, as I said, which be there so evil keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all; which perchance would change their mind if they lived here.

Howbeit they think that, though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custom of making leagues was very evil begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate asunder by the space of a little hill or a river were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) to think themselves born adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawful for the one to seek the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded friendship doth not grow and increase, but the licence of robbing and stealing doth still remain, as farforth as for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the words of the league any sentence or clause to the contrary is not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion, that is: that no man ought to be counted an enemy, which hath done no injury; and that the fellowship of nature is a strong league; and that men be better and more surely knit together by love and benevolence than by covenants of leagues; by hearty affection of mind than by words. 20

VIII.

Of Warfare.

WAR or battle as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kind of beasts in so much use as to man, they do detest and abhor. And contrary to the custom almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory as glory gotten in war. And therefore, though they do daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of war, and not only the men but also the women, upon certain appointed days, lest they should be to seek in the feat of arms, if need should require, yet they never go to battle but either in the defence of their own country, or 30 to drive out of their friends' land the enemies that have

invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny some people that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of mere pity and compassion. Howbeit they send help to their friends; not ever in their defence, but sometimes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not unless their counsel and advice in the matter be asked whiles it is yet new and fresh. For if they find the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not
10 restore again such things as be of them justly demanded, then they be the chief authors and makers of the war. Which they do, not only as oft as by inroads and invasions of soldiers preys and booties be driven away, but then also much more mortally when their friends' merchants in any land, either under the pretence of unjust laws or else by the wresting and wrong understanding of good laws, do sustain an unjust accusation under the colour of justice. Neither the battle which the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a little
20 before our time was made for any other cause but that the Nephelogete merchantmen, as the Utopians thought, suffered wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruel and mortal war revenged, the countries round about joining their help and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples being some of them shrewdly shaken and some of them sharply beaten, the mischiefs were not finished nor ended until the Alaopolitanes at the
30 last were yielded up as bondmen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the war, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them.

So eagerly the Utopians prosecute the injuries done to their friends, yea, in money matters; and not their

own likewise. For if they by covin or guile be wiped beside their goods, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreak their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not for because they set less store by their own citizens than by their friends, but that they take the loss of their friends' money more heavily than the loss of their own; because that their friends' merchantmen, forasmuch as that they leese is their own private goods, sustain great damage by the loss. But their own citizens 10 leese nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentiful and almost superfluous, else had it not been sent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the loss. And for this cause they think it too cruel an act to revenge that loss with the death of many, the incommmodity of the which loss no man feeleth neither in his life nor yet in his living. But if it chance that any of their men in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private counsel, knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their ambassadors, 20 unless the offenders be rendered unto them in recompense of the injury, they will not be appeased, but incontinent they proclaim war against them. The offenders yielded they punish either with death or with bondage.

They be not only sorry, but also ashamed, to achieve the victory with bloodshed, counting it great folly to buy precious wares too dear. They rejoyce and vaunt themselves, if they vanquish and oppress their enemies by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a general triumph and, as if the matter were manfully handled, 30 they set up a pillar of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victory. For then they glory, then they boast and crack that they have played the men indeed, when they have so overcome as no other living creature but only man could; that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit. For with

bodily strength (say they) bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs and other wild beasts do fight. And as the most part of them do pass us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger than they all.

Their chief and principal purpose in war is to obtain that thing, which if they had before obtained, they would not have moved battle. But if that be not possible, they take so cruel vengeance of them which be in the fault, that ever after they be afraid to do the like. This is
10 their chief and principal intent, which they immediately and first of all prosecute and set forward; but yet so, that they be more circumspect in avoiding and eschewing jeopardies than they be desirous of praise and renown. Therefore immediately after that war is once solemnly denounced they procure many proclamations signed with their own common seal to be set up privily at one time in their enemies' land, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill their enemies' prince, and somewhat less
20 gifts, but them very great also, for every head of them whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chief adversaries next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive; yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds and come into them, taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and surety of their lives.

30 Therefore it quickly cometh to pass that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithful and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great fear and in no less jeopardy. For it is well known that divers times the most part of them (and specially the prince himself) hath been betrayed of them in whom they put their most hope and trust. So that there is no manner of

act nor deed that gifts and rewards do not enforce men unto. And in rewards they keep no measure ; but remembering and considering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endeavour themselves to recompense the greatness of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great abundance of gold, but also lands of great revenues lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they perform faithfully without any fraud or covin.

This custom of buying and selling adversaries among 10 other people is disallowed as a cruel act of a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalf think themselves much praiseworthy, as who like wise men by this means despatch great wars without any battle and skirmish. Yea they count it also a deed of pity and mercy, because that by the death of a few offenders the lives of a great number of innocents, as well of their own men as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have been slain. For they do no less pity the base and common sort of their enemies' people than they do their own, knowing that 20 they be driven and enforced to war against their wills by the furious madness of their princes and heads. If by none of these means the matter go forward as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate and dissension to be spread among their enemies, as by bringing the prince's brother, or some of the noblemen, in hope to obtain the kingdom. If this way prevail not, then they raise up the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they set in their necks under the colour of some old title of right, such as kings do never lack. To 30 them they promise their help and aid in their war. And as for money, they give them abundance. But of their own citizens they send to them few or none. Whom they make so much of and love so entirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their adversary's prince. But their gold and silver, because they keep it all for this

only purpose, they lay it out frankly and freely : as who should live even as wealthily, if they had bestowed it every penny. Yea and besides their riches, which they keep at home, they have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I said before) many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire soldiers out of all countries and send them to battle, but chiefly of the Zapoletes. This people is five hundred miles from Utopia eastward. They be hideous, savage and fierce, dwelling in wild woods and high mountains, where they were bred and brought up. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustain heat, cold and labour, abhorring from all delicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in building of their houses and in their apparel, given unto no goodness, but only to the breeding and bringing up of cattle. The most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be born only to war, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They go forth of their country in great companies together, and whosoever lacketh soldiers, there they proffer their service for small wages. This is only the craft they have to get their living by. They maintain their life by seeking their death. For them with whom they be in wages they fight hardily, fiercely, and faithfully. But they bind themselves for no certain time, but upon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages, and the next day after that they will be ready to come back again for a little more money. There be few wars thereaway wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chanceth that nigh kinsfolk, which were hired together on one part and there very friendly and familiarly used themselves one with another, shortly after, being separate in contrary parts, run one against another enviously and fiercely and, forgetting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swords one in another ; and that for none other cause,

but that they be hired of contrary princes for a little money. Which they do so highly regard and esteem, that they will easily be provoked to change parts for a halfpenny more wages by the day. So quickly they have taken a smack in covetousness. Which for all that is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting immediately they spend unthriftilly and wretchedly in riot.

This people fighteth for the Utopians against all nations, because they give them greater wages than any other nation will. For the Utopians, like as they seek good men to use 10 well, so they seek these evil and vicious men to abuse. Whom, when need requireth, with promises of great rewards they put forth into great jeopardies ; from whence the most part of them never cometh again to ask their rewards. But to them that remain alive they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like danger another time. Nor the Utopians pass not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they believe that they should do a very good deed for all mankind, if they could rid out of the world all that foul stinking 20 den of that most wicked and cursed people.

Next unto these they use the soldiers of them for whom they fight ; and then the help of their other friends. And last of all they join to their own citizens. Among whom they give to one of tried virtue and prowess the rule, governance and conduction of the whole army. Under him they appoint two other, which, whiles he is safe, be both private and out of office. But if he be taken or slain, the one of the other two succeedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his room, lest 30 that (as the chance of battle is uncertain and doubtful) the jeopardy or death of the captain should bring the whole army in hazard. They choose soldiers out of every city those which put forth themselves willingly. For they thrust no man forth into war against his will ; because they believe, if any man be fearful and faint-hearted of nature, he will

not only do no manful and hardy act himself, but also be occasion of cowardice to his fellows. But if any battle be made against their own country, then they put these cowards (so that they be strong-bodied) in ships among other bold-hearted men. Or else they dispose them upon the walls, from whence they may not fly. Thus what for shame that their enemies be at hand, and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all fear. And many times extreme necessity turneth cowardice into
10 prowess and manliness.

But as none of them is thrust forth of his country into war against his will, so women that be willing to accompany their husbands in times of war be not prohibited or letted. Yea they provoke and exhort them to it with praises. And in set field the wives do stand every one by their own husband's side. Also every man is compassed next about with his own children, kinsfolks, and alliance; that they whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succour, thus standing together, may help one another. It is a great reproach
20 and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the son without his father. And therefore if the other part stick so hard by it that the battle come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, even to the utter destruction of both parts. For as they make all the means and shifts that may be to keep themselves from the necessity of fighting, or that they may despatch the battle by their hired soldiers, so when there is no remedy but that they must needs fight themselves, they do as courageously fall to it, as
30 before, whiles they might, they did wisely avoid and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt; but in continuance by little and little their fierce courage increaseth with so stubborn and obstinate minds, that they will rather die than give back an inch. For that surety of living which every man hath at home being joined with no careful anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them

(for this pensiveness oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomachs) maketh them stout and hardy, and disdainful to be conquered. Moreover their knowledge in chivalry and feats of arms putteth them in a good hope. Finally, the wholesome and virtuous opinions wherein they were brought up even from their childhood, partly through learning and partly through the good ordinances and laws of their weal public, augment and increase their manful courage. By reason whereof they neither set so little store by their lives that they will rashly and 10 unadvisedly cast them away, nor they be not so far in lewd and fond love therewith that they will shamefully covet to keep them, when honesty biddeth leave them.

When the battle is hottest and in all places most fierce and fervent, a band of chosen and picked young men, which be sworn to live and die together, take upon them to destroy their adversary's captain. Him they invade, now with privy wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both near and far off. He is assailed with a long and a continual assault, fresh men still coming in the wearied men's places. 20 And seldom it chanceth (unless he save himself by flying) that he is not either slain or else taken prisoner and yielded to his enemies alive. If they win the field, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive than kill them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursuit of their enemies but they leave behind them one part of their host in battle array under their standards. Insomuch that if all their whole army be discomfited and overcome saving the rearward, and that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather 30 let all their enemies scape, than to follow them out of array. For they remember it hath chanced unto themselves more than once : the whole power and strength of their host being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoicing in the victory have persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small company of their men lying in an

ambush, there ready at all occasions, have suddenly risen upon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase, and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battle, and spite of their teeth wresting out of their hands the sure and undoubted victory, being a little before conquered, have for their part conquered the conquerors.

It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would think
10 they intend to fly, when they mean nothing less. And contrariwise when they go about that purpose, you would believe it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves either overmatched in number or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their camp either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies, or in the daytime they retire back so softly, that it is no less jeopardy to meddle with them when they give back than when they press on. They fence and fortify their camp surely with a deep and a broad trench. The
20 earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaves awork about it. It is done by the hands of the soldiers themselves. All the whole army worketh upon it, except them that keep watch and ward in harness before the trench for sudden adventures. Therefore by the labour of so many a large trench closing in a great compass of ground is made in less time than any man would believe.

Their armour or harness which they wear is sure and strong to receive strokes and handsome for all movings and gestures of the body, insomuch that it is not unwieldy to
30 swim in. For in the discipline of their warfare among other feats they learn to swim in harness. Their weapons be arrows aloof, which they shoot both strongly and surely, not only footmen but also horsemen. At hand strokes they use not swords but pole-axes, which be mortal, as well in sharpness as in weight, both for foins and down strokes. Engines for war they devise and invent wonders wittily. Which

when they be made they keep very secret, lest, if they should be known before need require, they should be but laughed at and serve to no purpose. But in making them, hereunto they have chief respect, that they be both easy to be carried and handsome to be moved and turned about.

Truce taken with their enemies for a short time they do so firmly and faithfully keep that they will not break it, no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They do not waste nor destroy their enemies' land with foragings, nor they burn not up their corn. Yea, they save it as much as may 10 be from being overrun and trodden down either with men or horses, thinking that it groweth for their own use and profit. They hurt no man that is unharmed, unless he be an espial. All cities that be yielded unto them they defend. And such as they win by force of assault they neither despoil nor sack, but them that withstood and dissuaded the yielding up of the same they put to death; the other soldiers they punish with bondage. All the weak multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any citizens counselled to yield and render up the city, to them they give part of the con- 20 demned men's goods. The residue they distribute and give freely among them whose help they had in the same war. For none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey.

But when the battle is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but lay it upon their necks that be conquered. Them they burden with the whole charge of their expenses, which they demand of them partly in money to be kept for like use of battle, and partly in lands of great revenues to be paid unto them yearly for ever. Such revenues they have 30 now in many countries. Which by little and little rising of divers and sundry causes be increased above seven hundred thousand ducats by the year. Thither they send forth some of their citizens as lieutenants, to live there sumptuously like men of honour and renown. And yet, this notwithstanding, much money is saved; which cometh to the common treasury,

unless it so chance that they had rather trust the country with the money. Which many times they do so long until they have need to occupy it. And it seldom happeneth that they demand all. Of these lands they assign part unto them which, at their request and exhortation, put themselves in such jeopardies as I spake of before. If any prince stir up war against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him incontinent out of their own borders with great power and strength. For they never lightly make war in their
10 own country. Nor they be never brought into so extreme necessity as to take help out of foreign lands into their own island.

IX.

Of the Religions in Utopia.

THERE be divers kinds of religion not only in sundry parts of the island, but also in divers places of every city. Some worship for God the sun ; some the moon ; some some other of the planets. There be that give worship to a man that was once of excellent virtue or of famous glory, not only as God but also as the chiefest and highest God. But the most and the wisest part (rejecting all these) believe that there is
20 a certain godly power, unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the capacity and reach of man's wit, dispersed throughout all the world, not in bigness but in virtue and power. Him they call the Father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes and the ends of all things. Neither they give any divine honours to any other than to him.

Yea all the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree all together with the wisest sort, in believing that there is one chief and principal God, the
30 maker and ruler of the whole world ; whom they all commonly in their country language call Mithra. But in this

they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and among some another. For every one of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chief God, thinketh it to be the very same nature to whose only divine might and majesty the sum and sovereignty of all things by the consent of all people is attributed and given. Howbeit they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to pass and excel the residue. And it is not to be doubted but all the other would long ago have 10 been abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his religion, the fearfulness of people did take it not as a thing coming by chance, but as sent from God out of heaven. As though the God whose honour he was forsaking would revenge that wicked purpose against him.

But after they heard us speak of the name of Christ, of his doctrine, laws, miracles, and of the no less wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of 20 the world into their sect, you will not believe with how glad minds they agreed unto the same; whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it nighest unto that opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I think this was no small help and furtherance in the matter, that they heard us say that Christ instituted among his all things common; and that the same community doth yet remain amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verily, howsoever it came to pass, many of them consented together in our religion, and were 30 washed in the holy water of baptism.

But because among us four (for no more of us was left alive, two of our company being dead) there was no priest—which I am right sorry for—they being entered and instructed in all other points of our religion lack only those sacraments which here none but priests do minister. How-

beit they understand and perceive them and be very desirous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves whether without the sending of a Christian bishop one chosen out of their own people may receive the order of priesthood. And truly they were minded to choose one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christ's religion fear no man from it, nor speak against any man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company
10 in my presence was sharply punished. He, as soon as he was baptised, began against our wills, with more earnest affection than wisdom, to reason of Christ's religion; and began to wax so hot in his matter, that he did not only prefer our religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all other, calling them profane, and the followers of them wicked and devilish and the children of everlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him and condemned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a
20 seditious person and a raiser up of dissension among the people. For this is one of the ancientest laws among them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion.

For King Utopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before his coming thither at continual dissension and strife among themselves for their religions—perceiving also that this common dissension (whiles every several sect took several parts in fighting for their country) was the only occasion of his conquest over
30 them all—as soon as he had gotten the victory, first of all he made a decree that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against other. If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his

opinion yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from unpleasant and seditious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend was decreed banishment or bondage.

This law did King Utopus make not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished, but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedly, as doubting whether God, desiring manifold 10 and divers sorts of honour, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true. Furthermore, though there be one religion which alone is true, and all other vain and superstitious, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason, and sober modesty) that the truth of the own power would at the last issue out and come to light. But if contention and 20 debate in that behalf should continually be used, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborn and in their evil opinion most constant, he perceived that then the best and holiest religion would be trodden underfoot and destroyed by most vain superstitions, even as good corn is by thorns and weeds overgrown and choked. Therefore all this matter he left undiscussed, and gave to every man free liberty and choice to believe what he would ; saving that he earnestly and straightly charged them that no man should conceive so vile and base an opinion of the dignity of man's nature, as to 30 think that the souls do die and perish with the body ; or that the world runneth at all adventures governed by no divine providence. And therefore they believe that after this life vices be extremely punished and virtues bountifully rewarded. Him that is of a contrary opinion they count not in the number of men, as one that hath availed the high

nature of his soul to the vileness of brute beasts' bodies, much less in the number of their citizens, whose laws and ordinances, if it were not for fear, he would nothing at all esteem. For you may be sure that he will study either with craft privily to mock, or else violently to break, the common laws of his country, in whom remaineth no further fear than of the laws, nor no further hope than of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices and reject from all common administrations in the public weal. And thus he is of all sorts despised, as of an unprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he list. No nor they constrain him not with threatenings to dissemble his mind and show countenance contrary to his thought. For deceit and falsehood and all manners of lies, as next unto fraud, they do marvellously detest and abhor. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that only among the common people. For else apart among the
10
20 priests and men of gravity they do not only suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last that madness will give place to reason.

There be also other, and of them no small number, which be not forbidden to speak their minds, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, being in their living neither evil nor vicious. Their heresy is much contrary to the other. For they believe that the souls of brute beasts be immortal and everlasting. But nothing to be compared with ours in dignity, neither ordained nor predestinate to like felicity.
30 For all they believe certainly and surely that man's bliss shall be so great, that they do mourn and lament every man's sickness but no man's death, unless it be one whom they see depart from his life carefully and against his will. For this they take for a very evil token, as though the soul, being in despair and vexed in conscience through some privy and secret forefeeling of the punishment now at hand, were

afraid to depart. And they think he shall not be welcome to God, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawn by force and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death do abhor it, and them that so die they bury with sorrow and silence. And when they have prayed God to be merciful to the soul and mercifully to pardon the infirmities thereof, they cover the dead corse with earth.

Contrariwise, all that depart merrily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse 10 with joyful singing, commending the souls to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow but with a great reverence they burn the bodies. And in the same place they set up a pillar of stone with the dead man's titles therein graved. When they be come home they rehearse his virtuous manners and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death. They think that this remembrance of the virtue and goodness of the dead doth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to virtue. And that nothing can be more pleasant 20 and acceptable to the dead; whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talk of them, though to the dull and feeble eyesight of mortal men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient thing that the blessed should not be at liberty to go whither they would. And it were a point of great unkindness in them to have utterly cast away the desire of visiting and seeing their friends, to whom they were in their lifetime joined by mutual love and amity; which in good men after their death they count to be rather increased than diminished. They believe therefore 30 that the dead be presently conversant among the quick, as beholders and witnesses of all their words and deeds. Therefore they go more courageously to their business as having a trust and affiance in such overseers. And this same belief of the present conversation of their forefathers and ancestors among them feareth them from all secret dishonesty.

They utterly despise and mock soothsayings and divinations of things to come by the flight or voices of birds, and all other divinations of vain superstition, which in other countries be in great observation. But they highly esteem and worship miracles that come by no help of nature, as works and witnesses of the present power of God. And such they say do chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtful matters by common intercession and prayers they procure and obtain them with a sure hope and
10 confidence, and a steadfast belief.

They think that the contemplation of nature, and the praise thereof coming, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion that they pass nothing for learning, nor give their minds to any knowledge of things. But idleness they utterly forsake and eschew, thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by busy labours and good exercises. Some therefore of them attend upon the sick, some amend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, dig turfs,
20 gravel and stones, fell and cleave wood, bring wood, corn, and other things into the cities in carts, and serve not only in common works but also in private labours as servants yea, more than bondmen. For whatsoever unpleasant hard and vile work is anywhere, from the which labour loathsomeness and desperation doth fray other, all that they take upon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiet and rest to other, remaining in continual work and labour themselves, not upbraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other men's lives nor glory in their own. These men, the
30 more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men.

Yet they be divided into two sects. The one is of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from matrimony but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all manner of beasts. Which, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtful, be all wholly set upon the

desire of the life to come by watching and sweating, hoping shortly to obtain it, being in the mean season merry and lusty. The other sect is no less desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimony, not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labour and toil, nor towards their native country without children. They abstain from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of four-footed beasts, because they believe that by that meat they be made hardier and stronger to work. 10 The Utopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which, in that they prefer single life before matrimony and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name they call Buthrescas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to us men of religion or religious men.

They have priests of exceeding holiness, and therefore 20 very few. For there be but thirteen in every city, according to the number of their churches, saving when they go forth to battle. For then seven of them go forth with the army; in whose stead so many new be made at home. But the other at their return home again re-enter every one into his own place. They that be above the number, until such time as they succeed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the mean season continually in company with the bishop. For he is the chief head of them all. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secret 30 voices for the avoiding of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own company. They be overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were judges and masters of manners. And it is a great dishonesty and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living.

But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsel, so is it the duty of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punish offenders, saving that the priests, whom they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared. For they run in very great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret fear of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For unless they by
10 quick repentance approve the amendment of their lives to the priests, they be taken and punished of the council, as wicked and irreligious.

Both childhood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning than in virtue and good manners. For they use with very great endeavour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weal public. Which when they be once rooted in children
20 do remain with them all their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenance of the state of the commonwealth ; which never decayeth but through vices rising of evil opinions.

The priests, unless they be women—for that kind is not excluded from priesthood ; howbeit few be chosen, and none but widows and old women—the men priests, I say, take to their wives the chiefest women in all their country. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and pre-eminence given. Insomuch that if they commit any offence,
30 they be under no common judgment, but be left only to God and themselves. For they think it not lawful to touch him with man's hand, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God, as a holy offering. This manner may they easily observe, because they have so few priests, and do choose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely ever chanceth that the most

virtuous among virtuous, which in respect only of his virtue is advanced to so high a dignity, can fall to vice and wickedness. And if it should chance indeed (as man's nature is mutable and frail) yet by reason they be so few and promoted to no might nor power, but only to honour, it were not to be feared that any great damage by them should happen and ensue to the commonwealth. They have so rare and few priests lest, if the honour were communicated to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt ; specially 10 because they think it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficient to be endued with mean virtues.

Furthermore these priests be not more esteemed of their own countrymen than they be of foreign and strange countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appear. And I think also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside, not far off, kneel upon their knees in their hallowed vestments, holding up their hands to heaven, praying first of all 20 for peace, next for victory of their own part, but to neither part a bloody victory. If their host get the upper hand, they run into the main battle and restrain their own men from slaying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies. Which enemies, if they do but see them and speak to them, it is enough for the safeguard of their lives. And the touching of their clothes defendeth and saveth all their goods from ravin and spoil. This thing hath advanced them to so great worship and true majesty among all nations, that many times they have as well preserved 30 their own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their own men. For it is well known that, when their own army hath reculed and in despair turned back and run away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoil, then the priests coming between have stayed the murder and parted

both the hosts ; so that peace hath been made and concluded between both parts upon equal and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation so fierce, so cruel and rude, but they had them in such reverence that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

They keep holy the first and the last day of every month and year, dividing the year into months, which they measure by the course of the moon, as they do the year by the course
10 of the sun. The first days they call in their language Cynemernes and the last Trapemernes, the which words may be interpreted, primifest and finifest, or else in our speech, first feast and last feast.

Their churches be very gorgeous and not only of fine and curious workmanship but also (which in the fewness of them was necessary) very wide and large and able to receive a great company of people. But they be all somewhat dark. Howbeit that was not done through ignorance in building but, as they say, by the counsel of the priests ; because they
20 thought that over much light doth disperse men's cogitations, whereas in dim and doubtful light they be gathered together and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion. Which because it is not there of one sort among all men—and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundry and manifold, agree together in the honour of the divine nature, as going divers ways to one end—therefore nothing is seen nor heard in the churches but that seemeth to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to any several sect, that they execute at
30 home in their own houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to any of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no image of any god is seen in the church, to the intent it may be free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likeness and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mithra, in the which word

they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesty whatsoever it be. No prayers be used but such as every man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any sect.

They come therefore to the church the last day of every month and year, in the evening yet fasting, there to give thanks to God for that they have prosperously passed over the year or month, whereof that holy day is the last day. The next day they come to the church early in the morning, to pray to God that they may have good fortune and success 10 all the new year or month which they do begin of that same holy day. But in the holy days that be the last days of the months and years, before they come to the church, the wives fall down prostrate before their husbands' feet at home and the children before the feet of their parents, confessing and acknowledging themselves offenders either by some actual deed, or by omission of their duty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloud of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblown, that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable minds. 20 For they be afraid to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they know themselves to bear any hatred or grudge towards any man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices before they have reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for fear of great vengeance and punishment for their offence.

When they come thither, the men go into the right side of the church and the women into the left side. There they place themselves in such order that all they which be of the male kind in every household sit before the goodman of the 30 house, and they of the female kind before the goodwife. Thus it is foreseen that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children being joined together they

should pass over that time in childish wantonness, wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout fear towards God, which is the chief and almost the only incitation to virtue.

They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they think not that the merciful clemency of God hath delight in blood and slaughter, which hath given life to beasts to the intent they should live. They burn frankincense and other sweet savours, and light also a great number of wax candles
10 and tapers, not supposing this gear to be anything available to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men; but this unhurtful and harmless kind of worship pleased them: and by these sweet savours and lights and other such ceremonies men feel themselves secretly lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willing and fervent hearts. The people weareth in the church white apparel. The priest is clothed in changeable colours, which in workmanship be excellent, but in stuff not very precious. For their vestments be neither embroidered with gold, nor set with
20 precious stones, but they be wrought so finely and cunningly with divers feathers of fowls, that the estimation of no costly stuff is able to countervail the price of the work. Furthermore in these birds' feathers, and in the due order of them, which is observed in their setting, they say is contained certain divine mysteries. The interpretation whereof known, which is diligently taught by the priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God toward them, and of the love and honour which of their behalf is due to God, and also of their duties one toward another.

30 When the priest first cometh out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall down incontinent every one reverently to the ground, with so still silence on every part that the very fashion of the thing striketh into them a certain fear of God, as though He were there personally present. When they have lien a little space on the ground, the priest giveth them a sign for to rise. Then they sing praises unto God,

which they intermix with instruments of music, for the most part of other fashions than these that we use in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter than theirs, so some of theirs do far pass ours. But in one thing doubtless they go exceeding far beyond us. For all their music, both that they play upon instruments and that they sing with man's voice, doth so resemble and express natural affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing, that whether it be a prayer or else a ditty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mourn- 10 ing or of anger, the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing that it doth wonderfully move, stir, pierce and inflame the hearers' minds.

At the last the people and the priest together rehearse solemn prayers in words expressly pronounced, so made that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all. In these prayers every man recogniseth and acknowledgeth God to be his maker, his governor and the principal cause of all other goodness, thanking him for so many benefits received at his hand, but 20 namely that through the favour of God he hath chanced into that public weal which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he do anything err, or if there be any other better than either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth Him that He will of His goodness let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever He will lead him. But if this form and fashion of a commonwealth be best and his own religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to give him a constant 30 steadfastness in the same and to bring all other people to the same order of living and to the same opinion of God, unless there be anything that in this diversity of religions doth delight His unsearchable pleasure. To be short, he prayeth Him that after his death he may come to Him. But how soon or late that he dare not assign or determine. Howbeit,

if it might stand with His majesty's pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painful death and so to go to God than by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from Him. When this prayer is said they fall down to the ground again, and a little after they rise up and go to dinner. And the residue of the day they pass over in plays and exercise of chivalry.

Now I have declared and described unto you as truly as I could the form and order of that commonwealth, which verily
10 in my judgment is not only the best, but also that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of a commonwealth or public weal. For in other places they speak still of the commonwealth, but every man procureth his own private gain. Here, where nothing is private, the common affairs be earnestly looked upon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unless he make some several provision for himself, though the commonwealth flourish never so much in riches?
20 And therefore he is compelled even of very necessity to have regard to himself rather than to the people, that is to say, to other. Contrariwise there, where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lack anything necessary for his private uses, so that the common storehouses and barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a nigessh sort, neither there is any poor man or beggar. And though no man have anything, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich than to live joyfully and merrily, without all grief and
30 pensiveness, not caring for his own living, nor vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his son, nor sorrowing for his daughter's dowry? Yea, they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and all theirs, of their wives, their children, their nephews, their children's children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity.

And yet besides this there is no less provision for them that were once labourers and be now weak and impotent than for them that do now labour and take pain.

Here now would I see if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity the justice of other nations; among whom I forsake God if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this, that a rich goldsmith, or an usurer, or (to be short) any of them which either do nothing at all, or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the commonwealth, should have a 10 pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness or by unnecessary business, when in the meantime poor labourers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil as drawing and bearing beasts be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil that without it no commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, should yet get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beasts may seem much better and wealthier? For they be not put to so continual labour, nor their living 20 is not much worse, yea to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the mean season for the time to come. But these silly poor wretches be presently tormented with barren and unfruitful labour, and the remembrance of their poor indigent and beggarly old age killeth them up. For their daily wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same day, much less it yieldeth any overplus that may daily be laid up for the relief of old age.

Is not this an unjust and an unkind public weal, which giveth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they call 30 them, and to goldsmiths, and to such other, which be either idle persons or else only flatterers and devisers of vain pleasures, and of the contrary part maketh no gentle provision for poor ploughmen, colliers, labourers, carters, ironsmiths and carpenters, without whom no commonwealth can continue—but after it hath abused the labours of their

lusty and flowering age, at the last, when they be oppressed with old age and sickness, being needy, poor and indigent of all things, then forgetting their so many painful watchings, not remembering their so many and so great benefits, recompenseth and acquitteth them most unkindly with miserable death? And yet besides this the rich men not only by private fraud, but also by common laws, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. So whereas it seemed before unjust to recompense
10 with unkindness their pains that have been beneficial to the public weal, now they have to this their wrong and unjust dealing (which is yet a much worse point) given the name of justice, yea and that by force of a law.

Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth. They invent and devise all means and crafts, first how to keep safely, without
20 fear of leasing, that they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under colour of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their insatiable covetousness divided among themselves all those things which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and felicity of the Utopian commonwealth! Out of the which, in that all
30 the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, how great a heap of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is plucked up by the roots! For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, ravin, brawling, quarrelling, brabbling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishments are rather revenged than refrained, do die when

money dieth? And also that fear, grief, care, labours and watchings do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea poverty itself, which only seemed to lack money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away.

And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with yourselves some barren and unfruitful year, wherein many thousands of people have starved for hunger. I dare be bold to say that in the end of that penury so much corn or grain might have been found in the rich men's barns, if 10 they had been searched, as being divided among them whom famine and pestilence then consumed no man at all should have felt that plague and penury. So easily might men get their living, if that same worthy princess, lady money, did not alone stop up the way between us and our living, which in God's name was very excellently devised and invented that by her the way thereto should be opened. I am sure the rich men perceive this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lack no necessary thing than to abound with overmuch superfluity; to be rid out of innum- 20 erable cares and troubles than to be besieged and encumbered with great riches. And I doubt not that either the respect of every man's private commodity, or else the authority of our saviour Christ (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodness could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) would have brought all the world long ago into the laws of this weal public, if it were not that one only beast, the princess and mother of all mischief, pride, doth withstand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her own com- 30 modities, but by the misery and incommunities of other; she would not by her good will be made a goddess, if there were no wretches left over whom she might, like a scornful lady, rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities might shine, whose poverty she might vex, torment and increase by gorgeously setting forth her riches. This hell-

hound creepeth into men's hearts and plucketh them back from entering the right path of life, and is so deeply rooted in men's breasts that she cannot be plucked out.

This form and fashion of a weal public, which I would gladly wish unto all nations, I am glad yet that it hath chanced to the Utopians, which have followed those institutions of life whereby they have laid such foundations of their commonwealth as shall continue and last not only wealthily but also, as far as man's wit may judge and conjecture, shall
10 endure for ever. For, seeing the chief causes of ambition and sedition with other vices be plucked up by the roots and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardy of domestical dissension, which alone hath cast under foot and brought to nought the well-fortified and strongly-defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concord remaineth and wholesome laws be executed at home, the envy of all foreign princes be not able to shake or move the empire, though they have many times long ago gone about to do it, being evermore driven back.

20 Thus when Raphael had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my mind which in the manner and laws of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not only in the fashion of their chivalry and in their sacrifices and religions and in other of their laws, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say in the community of their life and living, without any occupying of money, by the which thing only all nobility, magnificence, worship, honour and majesty, the true ornaments and
30 honours, as the common opinion is, of a commonwealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed—yet, because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abide that anything should be said against his mind (specially remembering that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afraid lest they should seem not to be

wise enough unless they could find some fault in other men's inventions) therefore I, praising both their institutions and his communication, took him by the hand and led him in to supper, saying that we would choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talk with him more at large therein. Which would God it might once come to pass! In the meantime, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that be said, being else without doubt a man singularly well learned and also in all worldly matters exactly and profoundly experienced, so must I needs confess 10 and grant that many things be in the Utopian weal public which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope for.

Thus endeth the afternoon's talk of Raphael Hythloday concerning the laws and institutions of the Island of Utopia.

LETTER OF
PETER GILES TO BUSLYDE

To the Right Honourable Hieronymus Buslyde, Provost of Arienn and Councillor to the Catholic King Charles, Peter Giles, Citizen of Antwerp, wisheth health and felicity.

THOMAS MORE the singular ornament of this our age, as you yourself (right honourable Buslyde) can witness, to whom he is perfectly well known, sent unto me this other day the Island of Utopia, to very few as yet known, but most worthy which, as far excelling Plato's commonwealth, all people should be willing to know ; specially of a man most eloquent so finely set forth, so cunningly painted out and so evidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I read it methinketh that I see somewhat more than when I heard
10 Raphael Hythloday himself (for I was present at that talk as well as Master More) uttering and pronouncing his own words : yea, though the same man, according to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter that he might plainly enough appear to report not things which he had learned of others only by hearsay, but which he had with his own eyes presently seen and thoroughly viewed, and wherein he had no small time been conversant and abiding ; a man truly, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples and worldly experience, much passing yea
20 even the very famous and renowned traveller Ulysses ; and indeed such a one as for the space of these eight hundred years past I think nature into the world brought not forth his like ; in comparison of whom Vespucci may be thought to have seen nothing.

Moreover, whereas we be wont more effectually and pithily to declare and express things that we have seen, than which we have but only heard, there was besides that in this man a certain peculiar grace and singular dexterity to discribe and set forth a matter withal. Yet the selfsame things as oft as I behold and consider them drawn and painted out with Master More's pencil, I am therewith so moved, so delighted, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime methink I am presently conversant, even in the island of Utopia. And I promise you, I can scant believe that 10 Raphael himself by all that five years' space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there so much as here in Master More's description is to be seen and perceived. Which description with so many wonders and miraculous things is replenished that I stand in great doubt whereat first and chiefly to muse or marvel ; whether at the excellence of his perfect and sure memory, which could well-nigh word by word rehearse so many things once only heard, or else at his singular prudence, who so well and wittily marked and bare away all the original causes and fountains (to the vulgar 20 people commonly most unknown) whereof both issueth and springeth the mortal confusion and utter decay of a commonwealth, and also the advancement and wealthy state of the same may rise and grow ; or else at the efficacy and pith of his words, which in so fine a Latin style, with such force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and divers matters, specially being a man continually encumbered with so many busy and troublesome cares, both public and private, as he is. Howbeit all these things cause you little to marvel (right honourable Buslyde) for that you 30 are familiarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine, wit of the man.

But now to proceed to other matters, I surely know nothing needful or requisite to be adjoined unto his writings, only a metre of four verses written in the Utopian tongue, which after Master More's departure Hythloday by

chance showed me, that have I cause to be added thereto, with the alphabet of the same nation. For, as touching the situation of the island, that is to say, in what part of the world Utopia standeth, the ignorance and lack whereof not a little troubleth and grieveth Master More, indeed Raphael left not that unspoken of. Howbeit with very few words he lightly touched it, incidently by the way passing it over, as meaning of likelihood to keep and reserve that to another place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certain evil and
10 unlucky chance escaped us both. For when Raphael was speaking thereof, one of Master More's servants came to him and whispered in his ear. Whereof I being then of purpose more earnestly addict to hear, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I think, a shipboard, coughed out so loud, that he took from my hearing certain of his words. But I will never stint nor rest until I have got the full and exact knowledge hereof; insomuch that I will be able perfectly to instruct you, not only in the longitude or true meridian of the island, but also in the just latitude thereof,
20 that is to say, in the sublevation or height of the pole in that region, if our friend Hythloday be in safety and alive. For we hear very uncertain news of him. Some report that he died in his journey homeward. Some again affirm that he returned into his country, but partly for that he could not away with the fashions of his country folk, and partly for that his mind and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hath taken his voyage thitherward again.

Now as touching this, that the name of this island is
30 nowhere found among the old and ancient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday himself very well dissolved. For why, it is possible enough (quoth he) that the name which it had in old time was afterward changed, or else that they never had knowledge of this island; forasmuch as now in our time divers lands be found, which to the old geographers were unknown. Howbeit, what needeth it in this behalf to

fortify the matter with arguments, seeing Master More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the book, indeed herein I both commend, and also acknowledge the man's modesty. Howbeit unto me it seemeth a work most unworthy to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into the hands of men, yea, and under the title of your name to be published to the world; either because the singular endowments and qualities of Master More be to no man better known than to you, or else because no man is more fit and meet than you 10 with good counsels to further and advance the commonwealth, wherein you have many years already continued and travailed with great glory and commendation both of wisdom and knowledge, and also of integrity and uprightness. Thus, O liberal supporter of good learning and flower of this our time, I bid you most heartily well to fare.

At Antwerp 1516, the first day of November.

NOTES

Frontispiece. This Utopian alphabet (the letters of which are of almost infantile fabrication, like mystic Swobodas and Gnostic symbols—for which see on 66. 17), was apparently invented by Giles, who inserted it, together with the 'Metre of iiii verses in the Utopian tongue' and some marginal notes, in the first edition of the Latin original of More's *Utopia* (printed at Louvain in 1516. See on 149. 35 and 151. 7). Robinson did not print the Alphabet in either of his two editions (1551, 1556), but inserted the following note of the Printer to the Reader :

'The Utopian alphabet, good reader, which in the above written epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adjoined, because I have not as yet the true characters or forms of the Utopian letters. And no marvel, seeing it is a tongue to us much stranger than the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabic, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Cyprian, the Scythian, etc. Which tongues, though they be nothing so strange among us as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof to perform that which now I can not, that is to say, to exhibit perfectly unto thee the Utopian alphabet. In the mean time accept my good will. And so fare well.'

The Metre of four verses in the Utopian tongue he reproduces and offers a translation (nominally from the Utopian, but of course from the Latin version). These verses, he says, the translator, according to his simple knowledge and mean understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath rudely Englished :

My king and conqueror Utopus by name,
A prince of much renown and immortal fame,
Hath made me an isle that erst no island was,
Full fraught with worldly wealth, with pleasure and solace.
I one of all other without philosophy
Have shaped for man a philosophical city.
As mine I am nothing dangerous to impart,
So better to receive I am ready with all my heart.

On the other side of page 2, on which the Utopian alphabet is printed, the first edition contains six Latin verses (a 'hexastichon') attributed to Anemolius (the 'Windy,' see on 91. 6). 'poet laureate and nephew to Hythloday (the 'Babbler,' see 17. 21), by his sister.' There seems here to be a hit at John Skelton, poet laureate (not in the modern sense of the word)—the denouncer of Wolsey—the author of *Colin Clout*—the 'beastly Skelton' of Pope. The six Latin verses are paraphrased by Robinson in twelve rather obscure English lines. The Hexastichon extols Utopia as a 'rival of Plato's State,' and says that it should rather be called 'Eutopia'—a 'place of felicity.' (See on 6. 2).

In the first and second editions of the Latin *Utopia* several other sets of verses are included, and various letters, of which one, from Budé to Lupset (given by Dr. Lupton) is of interest.

1. Ralph (Rudolf) Robinson, or Raphe Robynson, as he calls himself on his title-page, was one of a large and poor Lincolnshire family, and probably the only member of it that was highly educated. He was born in 1521, and educated at Grantham and Stamford, where he was a schoolmate of William Cecil (see 4. 34). In 1536 he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford; took his B.A. in 1540, and was made a Fellow in 1542. He was later a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company, and perhaps temporarily a clerk in the service of Cecil. His translation of the *Utopia* was first published in 1551 and again in 1556. The second edition (the text of which is given by Dr. Lumby and Professor Arber) contains not a few improvements in language, but the division into paragraphs no longer corresponds with the Latin original, and the punctuation is altered considerably for the worse, often making a sentence quite unintelligible.

At the date of this letter (1551) William Cecil was a secretary to Edward VI. In October of the same year he was knighted. The letter was omitted in the second edition (1556)—perhaps because it had proved futile. Robinson appealed several times to his old schoolfellow for help. Three of these appeals, one in Latin verse, still exists—the first is dated May 1551, and the last was written in or after 1572, in which year Cecil was made Lord High Treasurer by Queen Elizabeth, who had selected him on her accession (1558) as Secretary of State and made him Baron of Burghley (Burleigh) in 1571. Nothing is known as to the success of this last appeal. It is drily endorsed, says Dr. Lupton, with the words (perhaps in Burleigh's handwriting) 'Rudolpus Robynsonus. For some place to relieve his poverty.' The date of Robinson's death has not been discovered.

Robinson's translation of the *Utopia* is vigorous, exuberant, picturesque, and idiomatic. He is audacious, and sometimes

highly successful in recasting a sentence into an entirely new form, and in giving the full effect of some Latin expression by combining several English words or phrases, as is done not seldom in the English Prayer book. Examples of this occur on almost every page. Thus on p. 27 'idleness or lack of exercise,' 'pernicious and pestilent,' 'overrunned and destroyed,' 'crack nor advance themselves' are renderings of single Latin words; and the single word 'auguria' is Englished (p. 134) by 'soothsayings and divinations of things to come by the flight or voices of birds,' and in 83. 3 we have one Latin adjective represented by four in English. This diffuseness at times weakens the effect of some pungent winged word or phrase of the original—but at times the leisurely exuberance of diction seems to add force to the sarcasm. Now and then he has apparently misunderstood the Latin, and he sometimes seems to miss the point of a humorous remark, but his translation is eminently readable in spite of the old words and the antiquated (sometimes Latin) construction of many of his sentences. As has been said of More himself, his diction seems 'a continued experiment to discover the forms into which the language naturally runs.... The structure of his sentences is frequently not that which the English language has finally adopted' (Macintosh).

[For such peculiarities see Index under 'Relative' 'Double Negative,' 'Absolute constr.,' 'other,' 'very they,' 'all they,' 'own,' etc.]

Another translation was made (1684) by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. He undertook the task, it is said, because he had too much leisure, and because he thought Robinson had 'taken a liberty that seems too great for any but the author himself, who is master of his own book and so may leave out or alter his original as he pleases.' His version is much closer to the Latin, but has none of the charm of Robinson's. (In the *Encycl. Brit.* Burnet's is the only translation mentioned.)

In 1808 the Utopia was translated for the third time by Cayley.

1. the King his. This **his**, not uncommon in old writers, is due to a mistaken explanation of the **s** of the possessive case.

1. 1. This story is from Lucian, a Greek writer (about 160 A.D.) some of whose piquant *Dialogues* were translated into Latin by More and Erasmus. See 107. 12.

1. 6. harness (Fr. *harnais*, Germ. *Harnisch*): armour; possibly connected with the word 'iron.' Shaks. *Macb.* v. 5. 52.

1. 8. rampler (Fr. *remparer*, possibly a form of *réparer*): to make or strengthen a defence (rampart). Fr. *se remparer* = defend oneself.

1. 11. **Diogenes**: the Cynic philosopher, born at Sinope about 412 B.C., some 55 years later than Socrates. His celebrated tub is said to have belonged to the temple of Cybele, the Mother of the gods.

1. 15. **philosophical cloak**: Grk. *himation*, Lat. *pallium*.

2. 7. **commodity**: advantage, convenience (Lat. *commoditas*).

2. 7. **wealth**: i.e. weal, welfare. In older writers it has often nothing to do with riches. See 56. 29, and 35. 4.

2. 14. **at the beck**: see note on Robinson given above. Possibly he was at this time engaged as Cecil's clerk.

2. 26. **almost forty**: from 1516 to 1551 would be 35 years.

2. 28. **of late time**: More died 6th July 1535, some 16 years before these words were written.

2. 35. Robinson was a member of the Reformed Church of England.

3. 9. **Which**. This use of the relative after a full stop is not regarded with favour by later writers. The construction is very common in Latin.

3. 11. **Latin style**. More's chief Latin works are the *Utopia*, his translations of three of Lucian's *Dialogues*, pamphlets against Luther and Tyndale, and his epigrams. For the characteristics of medieval and Renaissance Latin, see Introduction, 'More as writer.'

3. 16. **conveyance or disposition**: presentation of the subject: another tautology. Cf. 6. 8.

3. 25. **which**: often for 'who.' Cf. 1. 28.

4. 2. **Tadlow**: otherwise unknown.

4. 8. **other**: see on 16. 8.

4. 25. **mastership**. 'What news with your mastership?' (Shaks. *Two Gent. Ver.* iii. 1. 280).

4. 32. **old acquaintance**. See note on Robinson. About 1551 he seems to have renewed his old school acquaintance with Cecil. Cf. 2. 14.

5. 3. **quailed**. To 'quail' (shrink, cower) is generally the intransitive form of to 'quell' (connected with 'kill'). To be 'quailed,' or 'quelled,' is to be destroyed, crushed, subdued. The cognate Germ. *quälen* contains the idea of torture.

5. 11. **showed**. Some verbs had, and a few have still, both a strong and a weak form of the p. part. Cf. 27. 25. The epistle to Cecil is replaced in Robinson's second edition (1556) by an address of 'The Translator to the gentle Reader,' which I omit.

6. This letter is translated from More's Latin by Robinson.

6. 1. **Peter Giles** (see 10. 10) or Aegidius, b. at Antwerp about 1486, where his father Nicholas was a civic official ('quaestor urbis'), was intimate with Erasmus and More. He was Town-clerk in 1510. In honour of his marriage Erasmus wrote an *Epithalamium* (nuptial song or discourse), in which he praises him as highly cultivated in all polite literature. See Giles' letter to Buslyde, p. 148. Probably Erasmus gave More and Tunstall a letter of introduction to Giles when they, in the spring of 1515, went over to the Netherlands. See p. 16. In August, 1526, Erasmus wrote to commend Holbein (then on his way to England) to Peter Giles at Antwerp. Giles died Nov. 11, 1533. [Note that St. Giles is the English form of St.-Gilles, i.e. Aegidius, the Athenian hermit of Nîmes.]

6. 2. **Utopia** ('No-where') is the Latin form of the Greek *Οὐτοπία*, a word compounded (not quite regularly) of *οὐ* (not) and *τόπος* (place). In writing to Erasmus More uses as an equivalent the word 'Nusquama,' a fabrication from the Latin 'nusquam' (nowhere), and in a letter from the French scholar Budé to Lupset, a pupil of Lily's (given in the original Latin edition), we have another form of the word jestingly proposed, viz. *Udepotia* (*Οὐδεποτία*), i.e. 'No-when.' The name 'Utopia' should at once disarm solemn criticism and prevent us from accepting More's work as a serious proposal of a practicable scheme. In spite, however, of its glaring inconsistencies and impracticabilities (which perhaps naturally annoy the earnest-minded reformer), it contains so much that is ideally true, and such wonderful insight into, and anticipation of practical reforms which our age has realised, or which are yet to be realised, that we surely must feel it to be a case of 'Joking decides great things stronger and better oft than earnest can,' and must be ready to appreciate the humour and wisdom of Budé's words: 'I have ascertained by full inquiry that Utopia lies outside the bounds of the known world. It is in fact one of the Fortunate Islands—perhaps very close to the Elysian fields.' To those who could thus accept it, no wonder that this land of 'No-where' was, by the change of *οὐ* into *εὖ*, called 'Eutopia.' 'Eutopia merito sum vocanda nomine,' sings the poet laureate Anemolius: 'rightly My name is Eutopie, a place of felicitie.' Whether intentionally or not, Milton, in his *Areopagitica*, speaks of 'Eutopian' politics.

6. 3. **a year's space.** It was about Sept. 1515 that More met Giles at Antwerp, where during the autum, before his return to England at the end of the year, he wrote the *second* book of the *Utopia*. The *first* book, serving as introduction to the *Utopia* proper, he composed at home during 1516. Shortly before Nov. 1, 1516, Giles received from More the ms. of the whole work (see 148. 3, 151. 17). On Nov. 12 a friend (Gerhard of Nimeguen, whose Latin verses, translated by Robinson, on the

Utopia appear in some editions) writes to Erasmus to say that the Louvain printer, Thierry Martin, will undertake the publication, and by Feb. 1516 the book is out, and Erasmus is begging for a copy.

6. 8. **conveyance**. Cf. 3. 16.

6. 10. **Master Raphael**. See 17. 20.

6. 15. **better seen in** See 108. 26, and cf. 'A schoolmaster well seen in music' (Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, i. 2. 134). For Hythloday's preference of Greek, see 17. 22, 106. 10 sq.

7. 17. **home**. For More's domestic life, described by Erasmus, see Introduction.

7. 24. **merry** is a word of which More himself is fond. Here 'merry, jocund and pleasant' represent only one word (*jucundissimum*) of the Latin original.

7. 32. **sleep**. Stapleton, author of the *Three Thomases* (Tres Thomae), says that More usually slept but four or five hours, rising often at two o'clock.

8. 6. **which would God I were** ... copies the original *qui utinam essem*. The **which** = 'who' (see 3. 25), and the insertion of the pronoun in apposition to the relative seems almost necessary in such construction. Cf. Germ. *Ich, der ich*

8. 10. **John Clement** received his first education from William Lily (first headmaster, St. Paul's School, founded in 1510 by Dean Colet, and author of the celebrated *Propria quae maribus*), and was then an inmate of More's home, where he acted as tutor to the children. (We hear also of another tutor, Gunnell.) He married More's adopted daughter, Margaret Gigs (Gyge? see Introduction, 'More's Portraits'). He seems to have accompanied More to Flanders in 1515. Three years later he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and later acted as Reader of Greek. He then studied medicine, and was a member of the newly founded College of Physicians. Later he went abroad—evidently to escape religious persecution—and died at Malines in 1572.

8. 17. **Hythloday**. See 17. 21.

8. 18. **Amaurote** ... **Anyder**. See 67. 6, 69. 26.

8. 29. **tell a lie than** ... = *potius mendacium dicam quam mentiar*, i.e. rather repeat than tell (invent) an untruth. In their edition of the *Utopia* Michels and Ziegler quote from the Latin writer Aulus Gellius, who attributes the maxim 'a good man must take care not to tell a lie, and a prudent man not to repeat one,' to a Roman Pythagorean philosopher, Nigidius Figulus (B.C. 60). To this More evidently alludes when he says he would rather be *bonus* than *prudens*. This affected anxiety as to accuracy is very 'pretty fooling.' The whole of the *Utopia*, as well as Giles' letter to Buslyde (p. 148), is interwoven with such threads.

8. 33. **if he be now with you.** Hythloday is of course a fictitious character. As to what had become of him, see p. 150. 22.

9. 2. See 150. 3.

9. 9. **to see news.** The word 'news' is said by dictionaries to be copied from the French *nouvelles*; but it is undoubtedly singular, and corresponds here exactly in sense and form with the Germ. *Neues* (i.e. something new).

9. 13. **by the high bishop** = a *Pontifice*: i.e. the Pope. Robinson, as Protestant, perhaps evaded the title.

9. 16. **with suit**: i.e. by applying for it—which would be, of course, a violation of the *nolo episcopari* principle. It has been thought that More may have here intended a sly hit at Rowland Phillips, vicar of Croydon (1497-1538), who distinguished himself by foretelling in a sermon that 'the introduction of printing would be the bane of the Roman Catholic religion.' Such an obscurantist would be zealous to proselytize Utopian barbarians.

9. 34. **prevent**: anticipate.

10. 1. See Giles' comment on this, p. 151.

10. 19. **sour ... crabbed ... unpleasant** = the single Latin word *tetricus*.

10. 19. **can away with no** This not uncommon expression perhaps means 'cannot go on the same road with.' Cf. the Germ. *ich kann nicht umhin ...*: I cannot get round, i.e. I cannot help

10. 31. **louting.** Cf. Shaks. 1 *Henry VI.* iv. 3, 'I am louted by a traitor villain,' i.e. scorned, mocked; perhaps connected with *lower*, *lewd*, etc. Cf. 'a lout.' Lupton says 'bowing in mockery.'

10. 32. **flouting**: possibly = fluting, i.e. whistling in contempt.

10. 33. **the proverb**: in the original it is the Greek expression *ἐξω βέλους* (beyond reach of missiles). The Latin form is *extra telorum jactum*. More took it probably from the *Adagia* of Erasmus, where such proverbs are given.

10. 35. The picture is of a close-shaven, well-oiled wrestler.

11. 5. **Which** See on 3. 9.

11. 15. **if it may stand** Cf. 'If it stands with honesty' (*As You Like it*, ii. 4).

15. 3. **Charles ... King of Castile**: afterwards (1520-56) the great Emperor Charles V. (Charles Quint), the successor of Maximilian I. He was grandson of Ferdinand V. of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, the famous 'Catholic' sovereigns of Spain, parents of our unfortunate Catharine of Aragon, and

conquerors of Granada (1492). Isabella died in 1504, and her daughter Joanna (mentally deranged), who had married the young and wild Austrian Archduke Philip (the Fair), ought to have succeeded to the crown of Castile, but Isabella made provision in her will that Ferdinand should be sole regent in the absence or incapacity of Joanna. Philip and Joanna, however, insist on their rights, and Ferdinand resigns Castile to them. Philip soon dies (1506), and his son Charles (b. 1500 at Ghent) may be said to have come to the throne of Castile, although he practically was only recognised as prince of the Netherlands, where he resided. Castile remains under the rule of the mad Joanna and a provisional ministry. Then, in Jan. 1516 the old Ferdinand dies, and Charles (16 years of age) insists on being proclaimed king of Spain. This is done by the regent of Castile, Cardinal Ximenes, and in Sept. 1517 Charles lands in Spain. Therefore, when More wrote the opening of the first book of the *Utopia* (i.e. in 1516, after his return to England, see 15. 9), Charles had either been already proclaimed king of Castile, Aragon and Granada (i.e. the whole of Spain) or else More recognised his earlier claims to the crown of Castile. He was at this time a youth of about fifteen, i.e. when More was at Bruges.

15. 4. weighty matters. According to Roper (cf. what happened to Chaucer in 1377) More was 'at the suit and instance of the English merchants made twice ambassador in certain great causes between them and the merchants of the Steelyard' [the business place in London of the foreign Hanseatic merchants]. English wool, which was produced and exported in great quantities (see p. 28 *sq.*), was destined largely for Flemish looms, and the manufactured article was largely imported. Certain differences had arisen with the Netherlands, occasioned partly by the breaking off of the proposed marriage between Mary, sister of Henry VIII., and Prince Charles (who was also, it seems, betrothed since infancy to the daughter of Louis XII.), and the English Government had forbidden the export of wool to Flanders. It is probable that, after the commission had been selected, with Tunstall at its head, the merchants of the city petitioned that More, who had made himself popular as Under Sheriff, should be attached in their interests to the embassy.

15. 7. Cuthbert Tunstall, a Yorkshireman and brother of Sir Brian Tunstall, who fell at Flodden in 1513, was afterwards Bishop of London, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of Durham (1530). He accepted the oath of Supremacy, but resigned his bishopric under Edward VI., was restored by Mary, refused the oath at the accession of Elizabeth, was deprived of his bishopric in 1559, and died in the same year. 'To his honour,' says Dr. Lupton, 'it is stated that no one suffered death for heresy in his diocese, under his administration.'

15. 9. **of late** : on May 16th, 1516. The first book therefore, or anyhow this passage, was written *after* this date.

15. 18. **sun with a candle** : amongst his 'Proverbs' (*Adagia*) Erasmus cites from Gratian, 'solem adjuvare facibus' (to help the sun with torches), and 'Lucernam adhibere in meridie' (to use a lamp at mid-day). Cf. Shaks. *King John*, iv. 2, 'with taperlight To seek the bounteous eye of heaven to garnish.'

15. 19. **Bruges** and Ghent were during the middle ages the chief emporiums in Western Europe (in connexion with Venice) for the trade with the East, and were, from the thirteenth century, great marts of the Hanseatic League and of the English wool trade. The commercial importance of Bruges had already suffered much from the transference of its privileges to Antwerp, and when the overland Venetian trade was ruined by development of the India sea-trade (the Cape discovered by Vasco de Gama in 1498) it rapidly sank into insignificance. At the present day out of its 45,000 inhabitants about one-third are said to be paupers, whereas it once contained (says Guicciardini, the historian, about 1540) as many as 35,000 houses.

15. 22. **Marcgrave** : Germ. *Markgraf*, a count of a frontier district (march); we generally use the French form, *margrave*. The title, a high one in Germany, seems to have been given to the governor or chief magistrate of Bruges, if Robinson's translation of *praefectus Brugensis* is correct.

15. 24. **Cassel** (*Castellum Morinorum*) is the French town of that name, south of Dunkirk. At that time it belonged to the Netherlands. George of Theims-ecke was, says Dr. Lupton, a native of Bruges.

16. 6. **meantime**. He arrived at Bruges in May and remained about four months. See l. 28.

16. 8. **among other** : when it stands alone we generally say 'others.' For **which** = who, see 3. 25.

16. 10. **Giles** : see 6. 1. He was now about 29.

16. 21. **simulation or dissimulation** : the difference may be remembered by the Latin verse, 'Quod non es simulas, dissimulasque quod es.' The original is, *nemini longius abest fucus*, i.e. no one is so entirely without dye (deceptive exterior).

16. 30. **our Lady's church**, i.e. Notre Dame; begun in 1352; the six aisles were built between 1425 and 1500, and the beautiful Gothic spire (402 ft.) was probably just attaining its full height in 1516, under the direction of Wagenmaker.

16. 35. **well stricken in age**. See on 24. 7.

16. 36. **homely** = Lat. *neglectim*. Dr. Lupton quotes aptly from Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* the description of some

personage 'wearing his gown awry upon the one shoulder, as Sir Thomas More was wont to do.' This trait does not appear, I think, in any portrait.

17. 1. **favour**: common in older English for 'outward appearance,' e.g. 'As well as I do know your outward favour' (*Jul. Caes.* i. 2).

17. 18. **Palinurus**: the helmsman of Aeneas, who fell overboard near the coast of Italy.

17. 20. **Plato** (as also Pythagoras) visited Egypt, Sicily, and Magna Graecia (South Italy). Some of the doctrines which (as allegories) he puts in the mouth of Socrates, such as the transmigration of souls, are evidently of oriental origin.

17. 21. **Hythlodæ** (*Hythlodæus*) is a name fabricated by More from the Greek, and means 'versed in babble.' The very names (cf. Utopia, Amaurote, Anydrus, Polylerites, Achoriens, etc.) show that More had the rare and baffling gift of poking fun at his own jokes—a gift closely allied to his still more baffling power of apparently ridiculing from an intellectual standpoint what he accepted as necessary for salvation, and putting forward as ideally admirable what his self-surrender to infallible authority forced him to regard as damnable.

17. 27. **doings**, i.e. works. Seneca, a Roman Stoic philosopher and dramatist, was tutor to Nero, by whom he was put to death (A.D. 65). He was a favourite author of More's. In the Basel sketch (see Introd. 'More's Portraits') Margaret holds in her hand Seneca's tragedy, *Oedipus*.

17. 27. **Cicero**, the great orator (B.C. 106–43), wrote various philosophical treatises (*Laws, Duties, Ends of Existence, Tusculan Disputations*, etc.) which are far more notable for language than originality of thought. Latin literature stands, of course, on a lower level than Greek, both as regards philosophy and poetry; but More and his contemporaries did not fully recognise what is really great in Latin literature, i.e. the poetry of such writers as Lucretius, Virgil, Catullus, Horace, and Juvenal. See on 106. 10.

17. 28. **Portugal**: old-fashioned for 'Portuguese.'

17. 31. **Amerigo Vespucci** (1451–1512), whose name has been given, rather unfairly, to the New World, was a Florentine. He seems to have had something to do with the fitting out of Columbus' second expedition, and in 1497 he himself made the first of his four voyages [*Quatuor Navigationes*], which are described in the Latin *Cosmographiae Introductio* here referred to by More—a copy of which is in the British Museum. In his description of various strange nations he says: 'The people here live according to nature, and may be called Epicureans rather than Stoics. ... They have no private property, but all things are

in common. ... No kinds of metals are known except gold. ... The natives declared that in the inland regions there was a great amount of gold, and that it was not valued or held of any account. ... Of gold, pearls, jewels, and all such like things, which in Europe we regard as so valuable, they think nought, and utterly despise them, and care not to possess them.' It is very evident that these and other such passages suggested to More some of his Utopian characteristics. On his *fourth* voyage (the one which here specially interests us) Vespucci left Lisbon in May (or June) 1503 (1504?), reached the Cape Verde Islands, and thence crossed the line in a S.W. direction and sighted the island Fernando de Noronha, and, coasting down S. America, reached a harbour evidently near what now is known as Cape Frio. It was at this point that Vespucci left a small garrison of 24 men in a fort (Lat. *castellum*). He then returned to Lisbon, settled at Seville, and died there in 1512.

18. 3. Gulike. This is apparently a curious blunder. Vespucci left the men in a fort. In the description of Vespucci's *Four Voyages* this fort is called *castellum*, and More's words are *qui in Castello remanserant*, i.e. 'those who had remained in the Fort.' Robinson, deceived perhaps by the capital letter, seems to have looked out *Castellum* in some geographical index and found that it was the Latin name of Jülich, or Juliers (near Cologne), sometimes spelt Gulike. It is a strange blunder, for it seems to show that Robinson did not realise that Vespucci's *Castellum* was in S. America—or possibly he thought Jülich was in those parts.

18. 4. for his mind's sake = *uti obtemperaretur animo ejus*, i.e. that his mind (desire, determination) might be gratified.

18. 6. these sayings. The first is from Lucan, the Roman poet who wrote the *Pharsalia*: 'Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam' (vii. 819). The second is what, according to Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 104), the philosopher Anaxagoras answered to those who asked him, when dying, whether he wished to be buried at Clazomenae, his home: 'It is not necessary; for everywhere the road to the Underworld is of equal length.' At the end of Plato's *Phaedo* Socrates gives a somewhat similar answer to Crito, who asks how he wishes to be buried. 'Just as you please—if you can catch me, and I do not escape from you!'

18. 12. Gulikians = *Castellani*. See 18. 3 and cf. 129. 32

18. 13. Taprōbānē: Greek and Latin name of Ceylon; probably an attempt to represent the native name—which, however, is now Lanka.

18. 13. Caliquit: Calicut, on the S.W. coast of India, where Vasco de Gama landed after his passage round the Cape of Good Hope in 1498.—A large Portuguese fleet followed his newly dis-

covered course after his return to Portugal, and 'factories' were planted at Calicut and other places on the Malabar coast.

18. 25. **torves** (cf. Germ. *Torf*) or turves, a plural of 'turf.' In the woodcut in the edition of 1518 it looks like a crate stuffed with turf, but in the original it is simply 'a bench strewn with turfs.' That it was fairly dry and comfortable is apparent from the fact that after dinner (see p. 57) they returned and 'sat them down upon the same bench' for the greater part of the afternoon. Cf. Chaucer (*Merchant's Tale*, 901): 'Upon a bench of turves fresh and green.'

18. 31. **occupying**: associating (orig. *versari*), or having dealings with. Cf. 19. 20; 146. 27; and *St. Luke* xix. 13, where it means 'carry on the business.'

19. 5. **weal publics** = *respublicae*, commonwealths.

19. 7. **line equinoctial** = equator. When the sun is exactly over the equator the day and night are each of 12 hours' length in all parts of the earth. Hence the word 'equinox.'

19. 8. **lieth**: plural, as often in older English. Cf. 'As writers sheweth plain' (*King Cophetua*).

19. 12. **out of fashion**: wanting in form, wild, savage. The orig. has *horrida atque inculta*.

19. 21. **chaffer**, or, as Robinson spelt it, **chaffare** = trade. Cf. chapman, cheap, etc. Germ. *Kauf*. For **occupying** see l. 31. All these three expressions represent the one word *commercia* of the original. **borderers** = neighbours.

19. 31. **ridged**. Cf. 72. 3.

19. 35. **feat**: working, action. Here 'feat and use' represents the one word *usus*. In 48. 21 **feat** means the knack, method, art. The use of the magnetised needle as a compass for navigation was unknown to the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans. It is said to have been used by the Chinese more than 1000 years before the Christian era. The Italian navigator Flavio Gioia (14th cent.) seems to have been the first European to suspend the magnetised needle on a pivot, and thus make it of use for navigation. The **loadstone** (leading stone? cf. loadstar, or lodestar) is the magnetic oxide of iron. It communicates its magnetic property to iron and steel.

20. 5 **farther from care** A good rendering of the orig. *securi magis quam tuti*. The word *securus* does not mean 'secure' but 'careless,' i.e. thinking oneself safe, free from anxiety.

20. 7. **turn them**, i.e. turn for them: the dative. See the scene between Petruchio and his servant in *Taming of the Shrew*.

20. 19. **no news**: nothing new. See 9. 9.

20. 22. **Scylla** : the monster that snapped up six of Ulysses' men (*Od.* xii. *Aen.* iii.).

20. 23. **Celaeno** : a Harpy. She utters a lamentable prophecy to Aeneas, who finds the Harpies on the Strophades islands (*Aen.* iii. 245). The Laestrygonians were giants who destroyed all of Ulysses' ships except one, and killed and ate the crews (*Od.* x.).

20. 26. **foolish laws**. See More's remarks, p. 146. How far his criticisms of his own fictitious ideal public are serious, it is not easy to say. See on 17. 21. Sometimes, as in his strong eulogies of communism, it is impossible to doubt that he at least wished, if he could not hope, for the realisation of some such state of things. See his last words, p. 147. To object to his *Utopia* as a 'facile fiction'—disappointing and useless because it is impracticable, is to misunderstand his object and to reap no profit from his 'fruteful and pleasaunt worke,' as Robinson well calls it. As was the case with the abolition of slavery, and as will ere very long, I believe, be the case with the abolition of war among Christian nations, it is the *idea* that is the vital germ from which the practical realisation often springs with unexpected suddenness, throwing aside old husks and assimilating new material with astonishing vigour. Cf. on 36. 13.

20. 30. **entreat** = treat.

21. 19. **I pass not** ... : *i.e.* care not. Cf. 79. 18, 115. 28, etc., and Shaks. 2 *Hen.* VI. iv. 2: 'As for these silken-coated slaves, I pass not.' It seems generally used negatively.

21. 27. **Which**. See on 3. 9 and 25.

21. 32. As Dr. Lupton points out, Robinson has here changed and omitted a good deal. The original literally rendered is somewhat thus: 'Softly!' says Peter. 'I didn't mean that you should be a slave, but that you should be of service to kings (*non ut servias sed ut inservias*).' 'Service,' says Hythloday, 'is only a syllable longer than *slave*.' 'Nevertheless, call the thing as you will,' says Peter, 'I consider this to be the way ...'

22. 1. **wealthier** = orig. *feliciorem*, *i.e.* happier.

22. 6. **states** : statesmen, high officials. In the orig. it is *purpurati*, *i.e.* adorned with the purple of high office. Cf. the beginning of Milton's *Areopagitica*: 'They who to states and governors of the commonwealth direct their speech.' Also in Milton's translation of *Psalms* 82: 'Of kings and lordly states.' That this was More's real opinion we have many proofs. Not long after writing these words he himself had to decide a similar question, and perhaps unfortunately allowed himself to be 'dragged into court,' as Erasmus says, and into dangerous intimacy with Henry. See Introd. 'More's home life.' How

all the wearisome inanities of court life and diplomacy worried him and disturbed his domestic peace, and also his genuine public services, is apparent from his letter to Erasmus from Calais congratulating him on his determination 'never to be engaged in the busy trifling of princes.'

22. 21. **council** : perhaps better **counsel** ; orig. *a consiliis*.

22. 33. **all princes have** The amount of space that in this preliminary book of the *Utopia* More gives to the subject of princes and their counsellors (the discussion is broken off and again taken up at p. 41) proves how much his mind was occupied with the question. It was indeed a subject which was at that time occupying many thinkers. 'Some months,' says Froude, 'before More began to write his *Utopia*, Erasmus had commenced a little treatise with a very similar object The similarity of sentiments in the *Christian Prince* and the *Utopia* would make one infer that they were written in concert, and the connexion of More with the court of Henry VIII. and of Erasmus with that of Prince Charles (in the Netherlands) would give practical directness to their thoughts. Possibly they may have parted, More for Flanders and Erasmus for Basel, with the understanding that both should write something on this subject.' The *Institutio Principis Christiani* (Training of a Christian Prince) was printed while this first book of the *Utopia* was being written. It was addressed to Prince Charles (see on 15. 3), who was at this time a youth of about fifteen. Erasmus insists on a prince being truly Christian in life and conduct: 'If you find you cannot keep your kingship without violating justice or shedding much blood, lay it down and retire from it.' Note that Charles V. did in later years abdicate and retire to a monastery. 'If princes were perfect, then a monarchy pure and simple might be desirable, but as this is scarcely ever to be hoped, a *limited* monarchy is preferable It is *consent* which makes a prince.' Note that Plato, too, in his *Republic*, allows that the ideal State is an impossibility, unless the rulers be philosophers, i.e. 'lovers of wisdom.' Note also that this doctrine that 'consent makes a prince'—a doctrine subversive of all claims of 'divine right,' such as the Stuarts and their courtier-prelates so loudly proclaimed—is the teaching of 'all ancient philosophers and civil lawyers, and by far the majority of later writers' (See Hallam, vol. iii. p. 159). The 'patriarchal theory,' which sets aside the idea of any contract, with mutual obligations, between king and people, is rejected as absurd by such writers (e.g. Suarez, Grotius, and especially Hobbes in his *Leviathan*), but they differ considerably as to the nature of the contract, some prescribing 'non-resistance' and others allowing the right of rebellion, as More does (72. 30) in case of tyranny, while others (Suarez, for instance) allows it only in a case of usurpation. Whether More seriously gave approval to political

murder under any circumstances, it is not easy to prove. His personal character would seem to make it impossible—and yet what are we to think about his words and acts in regard to heretics? Certainly in the *Utopia* he writes as if he approved of such things (see p. 120), and he translated Lucian's *Tyrannicide*, in which it is taken for granted that the murder of a tyrant deserves a reward. One way—if not a very satisfactory way—of explaining such enigmas in More's personality is that adopted by his R. Catholic biographer, Father Bridgett, who says: 'What may have been More's serious judgment on tyrannicide we can only gather directly from his submission to the Church's teaching both in faith and morals. More, like Lucian, presupposes the lawfulness and excellent merit of slaying a tyrant; yet, if he does this, it is merely in a literary exercise.' According to such an explanation, once granted 'submission to the Church,' all is apparently allowable—even murder. And however genuine may have been More's intellectual and moral assent to all the truths that he so forcibly expresses in the *Utopia* on the subject of religion, according to such explanation, his assent had nothing in the world to do with his own religion. This was something apparently entirely unconnected with his moral sense and his reason, and consisted merely in unquestioning acceptance of certain dogmas of an infallible Church.

While Erasmus and More were proclaiming their enlightened views on the subject of princes, the yet unpublished manuscript of *The Prince* of Machiavelli was lying in the study of its author. (Written 1513, but published first after his death in 1532.) It promulgated doctrines exactly the converse of those of More. According to Machiavelli it is not 'consent' that makes a prince, but brute force and cunning. Government exists not for the good of the people, but for the sake of the ruler; and in order to maintain his power a ruler is justified in using every conceivable means of cunning or cruelty. He is to simulate virtue and religion as a mask, and resort to violence where hypocrisy fails. The chapter on the keeping of faith might well pass, says Hallam, for a satire on the usual violation of faith by Christian pontiffs and rulers of that age, if it were not evidently written in deadly earnest. *The Prince* of Machiavelli, which was published with the strong approval of the Pope, codifies, as it were, the unwritten laws which for centuries guided public policy and private conduct in the high places of the so-called Christian Church and at the courts of most Catholic sovereigns; and it was accepted by such as the secret rule for public and private morals. In very many details Machiavelli's *Prince* offers an exact converse to the *Prince* of Erasmus and to the *Utopia* of More.

Erasmus deprecates war-taxes, subsidies, and other such means used by tyrants for raising money, as reducing the poor to

desperation and crime : it is far better to avoid wars and foreign conquests, and to study the right administration of dominions rather than their extension (see below, l. 36). He also deprecates great inequality of property : 'means should be taken to prevent wealth getting into too few hands.' He advises taxing luxuries, as fine clothes and jewels. As regards the coinage, 'a good prince will maintain good faith, and will allow no increasing or lowering of its nominal value when such a proceeding suits his exchequer.' He discusses prevention of crime : idle people are to be set to work or banished ; vagabond soldiers are not to be allowed ; and, 'as a wise surgeon does not proceed to amputation except as a last resort, so all remedies should be tried before capital punishment is resorted to.' He inveighs against an idle nobility : 'softened by ease, effeminate by pleasure, unskilled in all good arts, revellers, eager sportsmen, not to say worse, ... Why should this race of men be preferred to shoemakers or husbandmen?' Lastly, what he says about treaties is the exact converse of Machiavelli's immoral counsel, and agrees in its main principle with the Utopian view (see p. 115). He asserts that Christianity should be enough bond between nations, so that leagues are unnecessary. On the subject of war he says : 'If so pestilential a thing cannot be avoided, it should be the first care of a prince that it be waged with as little evil as possible and as little expense as possible of Christian blood, and as quickly as possible brought to an end' ; and he suggests for this purpose both arbitration and also concession. In his *Adagia* (Proverbs, Adages) and other writings Erasmus speaks with great vehemence and bitterness of kings and their counsellors. (See Froude's *Life of Erasmus*, or Hallam's remarks on Erasmus, *Lit. Hist.*, Part i. ch. iv.)

23. 11. the raven and the ape Amongst his 'Adages' Erasmus gives : 'Bitch to dog, cow to ox, she-ass to he-ass, sow to boar, seems most beautiful.'

23. 19. diserdes : fools. A 'disard,' 'dizzard,' or 'disar' (Fr. *diseur ? disert ?*) is said to have been a clown or talkative fool in a play. Skelton (see note on Frontispiece) speaks of 'dysardes in a play' being 'gay with wonderful array'—evidently the motley of a fool or harlequin.

23. 33. lewd : said to be from same root (Grk. *laos* = people) as 'lay,' 'laity' ; hence originally = vulgar, unlearned, ignorant.

23. 33. overthwart : obstructive, obstinate. Cf. 'athwart' and 'to thwart.' See 84. 34.

24. 1. the insurrection : the rising of the Cornish men in 1497. They were defeated and cut to pieces (2000 being slain) at Blackheath, and their leaders, Lord Audley and others, were executed. The rising was due to the imposition of heavy taxes.

24. 6. Cardinal Morton (1420-1500) was a Lord Chancellor of Henry VII., and was one of the king's ministers whose punishment the Cornishmen demanded. He was born at Bere Regis, Dorsetshire, about 1420; was at Balliol College, Oxford; gained various preferments through Cardinal Bouchier, then Lord Chancellor; was made Master of the Rolls and Bishop of Ely by Edward IV. With Richard III. he was in dishonour, and is supposed to have sent Henry, Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.), a warning to which he owed his escape. Bishop Morton joined Richmond abroad, and is said to have proposed what Green calls the 'masterly policy' of uniting the Lancastrians and Yorkists by Henry's marriage with Elizabeth of York. After the battle of Bosworth he was made Archbishop of Canterbury and, a year later (1487) Lord Chancellor. In 1493 he was created Cardinal by Alexander VI. Bacon describes him as haughty and 'envied by the nobility and hated of the people.' His celebrated advice to Henry VII. for the successful extortion of subsidies from both rich and poor ('Morton's fork,' as the dilemma was called) was decidedly Machiavellian. More was a page in his household (see *Introd.*). Cardinal Morton died in 1500, and is buried in Canterbury Cathedral. He and his strawberries are well known to readers of Shakspeare (*Rich. III.*). It is possible that he wrote the Latin original of the *Life of Richard III.*, which is generally regarded as an original English work of More's.

24. 7. at that time ..., i.e. shortly after the Cornish rebellion of 1497. Morton had then been Chancellor for ten years. If Hythloday was about 35 at that time, he would be about 55 when More met him. See 16. 35.

24. 10. mean = middle.

24. 27. the chief = the prime.

25. 2. for the most part The sense of the original is 'who were being hanged right and left, sometimes twenty together on one gallows.' Latimer said that 'two acres of hemp were not sufficient to hang all the thieves in England' (Brewer).

25. 10. too extreme a punishment. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors* (1845), tells how, in his own early life, there was very vehement opposition on the part of many good and distinguished men to the abolition of capital punishment in the case of sheep-stealing and other such offences. The law was altered to some extent in 1827, and capital punishment is now in abeyance in England, except for murder. Capital punishment, even for murder, has been abolished in several European nations, and is practically in abeyance in France and elsewhere. Even Uruguay has abolished it. See on 22. 33 for Erasmus' opinion as to the prevention of crime.

25. 17. **evil schoolmasters**: in contrast, perhaps, to More's friend Lily, at this time Headmaster of St. Paul's School.

25. 29. **Blackheath**: see on 24. 1.

25. 30. **wars in France**. In 1475 Edward IV. invaded France, and some old soldiers in 1497 might date from that war. There was a farcical invasion of France and siege of Boulogne by Henry VII. in 1492, and this is the war to which Hythloday specially refers. Henry went nominally to aid Princess Anne of Bretagne, but he was all the time in league with the French king, Charles VIII., who then married Anne.

25. 35. **recourses**, i.e. ebbs and flows. In the first edition a very much better paraphrase is given of the orig. *per intermissas rices*, i.e. 'because war, like the tide, ebbs and flows,' that is, recurs necessarily at intervals.

26. 2. **dorres** = drones (sometimes = beetles). 'What should I care that every dor doth buzz In credulous ears?' (Ben Jonson).

26. 3. **poll** = to clip or pull out the hair of the head (**poll** being perhaps cognate with 'ball,' 'bowl,' etc.; cf. *tête* = testa). Hence a 'pollard,' and to 'take the poll,' etc.

26. 4. **raising their rents**. It will be noticed how many of the social questions touched upon by More are still unsolved with us—e.g. the unemployed, landlordism, capitalism, etc. 'Rent-raisers' was frequently used at that time as a synonym for landlords—e.g. by Latimer in his sermons. The tricks of the modern 'syndicate' and the modern land-speculator were not unknown. Many writers of the age deplore this raising of rents. Thus Dr. Lumby quotes from Roderick Moss: 'Consider you, what a wickedness is used through the realm unpunished in the inordinate enhancing of rents.... They cannot be content to let them at the old price, but raise them up daily, so that the poor man laboureth and toileth upon it and is his slave and is not able to live. And further (if he cannot pay) out he must, be he never so poor; though he should become a beggar, and after a thief and so at length be hanged for his outgoing.' Eviction was, of course, often the result of converting agricultural farms into sheep runs—for which see on 28. 20. There is a curious 'Prayer for Landlords' in one of King Edward's Liturgies, which is worth quotation. 'We heartily pray Thee that they who possess the grounds, pastures and dwelling places of the earth may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands... but so let them out to others that the inhabitants thereof may be both able to pay their rents and to live.'

26. 11. **incontinent** = straightway.

26. 20. **appaired**: not seldom in the sense of 'impaired.'

26. 27. **jet**: strut. 'Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him. How he jets under his advanced plumes!' (of Malvolio, in the *Twelfth Night*, ii. 5).

26. 30. **by Saint Mary**: an addition of Robinson's.

26. 32. **stomachs**: in Latin the word *stomachus* is used to mean 'high spirit,' 'anger.' Shakspeare uses it for 'courage.'

27. 2. **thieves**. Here and in the next line the orig. has *latrones*, i.e. robbers (brigands) rather than thieves (*fures*).

27. 8. **beseiged**: crowded, beset.

27. 8. **hired soldiers**. See More's later remarks on mercenaries (p. 122). The habit of hiring Swiss and other mercenaries had already brought evil on France. Under Charles VI. and VII. the realm was much harried by these hirelings. In 1444 Charles VII. had endeavoured to reestablish a regular national army, but apparently without much success.

27. 9. **in peace-time**: orig. *in pace quoque*, i.e. also in peacetime.

27. 11. **wisefools**: orig. *morosophi*; a Greek 'oxy-moron' compound borrowed by More from Lucian.

27. 12. This touches one of the great evils of modern times—huge armaments.

27. 18. **Sallust**: a Roman historian (B.C. 86-34). The quotation is from his account of the conspiracy of Cataline: 'ne per otium torpescerent manûs aut animus.'

27. 22. A large standing army was often a potent influence in Roman history, as in the cases of Sulla and Caesar. The election of the Roman Emperors at a later time depended mainly on the will of the army. The great civil wars, lamented by Virgil and Horace in well-known passages, were due to conscription and the quarrels of military leaders. Much similar occurred in the history of Carthage, where the Barcine and other factions owed their supremacy to the standing army, and military ambition finally brought about the ruin of the country. So dangerous was the power of the standing army considered at Carthage, that a select body of Senators (the Gerusia) was specially charged to guard against any *coup d'état* on the part of military leaders. As to **Syria**, possibly More alludes to the Turkish Janissaries (disbanded in 1826 on account of constant mutinies) and the Mamelukes, a body of Egyptian slaves, who became masters of Egypt. They were exterminated in 1811.

27. 25. **over-runned**: an example of a verb with both forms of the p. part. See on 5. 11. In German the same occurs, e.g. *gerächt* and *gerochen*, etc. Similarly *rennen* makes *rannte*, *gerannt*, while *rinnen* makes *rann*, *geronnen*. Thus **over-runned** is cognate to *überraunt*.

27. 28. **from their youth**: orig. *ab unguiculis*, lit. 'from little (tender) nails.'

27. 30. **crack**: cf. 'boast and crack,' 119. 33. Cf. 'and Ethiops of their sweet complexion crack' (Shaks. *L.L.L.*, iv. 3).

27. 30. **advance**: cf. 31. 17.

28. 7. **spill**: i.e. ruin. It has no connexion with 'spoil.' The orig. idea is that of wasting, letting fall or flow away.

28. 15. **noyous**: noxious, troublesome. Cf. l. 31.

28. 20. **your sheep**. This inordinate sheep breeding, whereby agriculture was greatly injured, and many country districts and villages ruined and depopulated, forms the text of many indignant protests by writers of this time (see Lupton's edition p. xxxv.). It was a matter of even greater moment than our question of game preserving. In an Act of Parliament passed while More was writing the first book of his *Utopia* it is stated that 'great inconvenients be and daily increase by desolation, pulling down and destruction of houses and towns within this realm, and laying to pasture lands which customably have been manured (i.e. manœuvred, worked with the hand), and occupied with tillage and husbandry, whereby idleness doth increase.' It goes on to describe a state of things similar to what More describes. Doubtless, as Dr. Lupton remarks, the sight of the prosperous weavers of Bruges and Antwerp must have increased More's compassion for the farm labourers at home, ever more and more dispossessed of their homesteads.

28. 23. **eat up** Cf. Bacon's *Jewel of Joy*: 'Those beasts which were created of God for the nourishment of man do now devour man Since those greedy gentlemen began to be sheep-masters and feeders of cattle, we neither had victual nor cloth of any reasonable price.'

28. 35. **a sheep-house**. (Lupton gives *stabulandis suis*, i.e. a pigstye—perhaps a slip.) An old ballad laments that

'The towns go down, the land decays ...
Great men maketh nowadays
A sheepecote in the church.'

28. 35. **no small quantity**: orig. *parum*, i.e. too little.

28. 36. **laund**: clearing, (Fr. *lande*); whence also 'lawn' = open grass land between woods, lea. The orig. is *ferarum saltus ac vivaria*: game coverts and preserves.

29. 1. **holy** is here an addition by Robinson, who always rejoiced in adding a sting to whatever More said against priests and their ilk. Possibly the ecclesiastical landlords were no worse than others in the matter of rent-raising and oppression of the poor; and one must allow a certain margin for the growing indignation against the Catholic clergy; but there is no

doubt that these 'good holy men' did own a vast amount of land, and did keep the peasant out of his natural rights. Thus a complaint made to the Commons (1529) states that 'priests, being surveyors, stewards and officers to Bishops, Abbots and other spiritual heads, had and occupied farms, granges and grazing in every county, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing but of them; and for that they should pay dearly.'

29. 3. **cormorant**: orig. *helluo*, i.e. glutton, squanderer.

29. 6. **covin**: collusion, fraud; from late Lat. *convenium*, agreement. Cf. the dropping of the *n* in 'Covent Garden.'

29. 10. **silly**: simple, innocent, rustic; often in this sense in Shakspeare. The cognate Germ. *selig* has come to mean even 'blessed.'

29. 17. **though it might well ...**: the orig. means 'even if it could await a buyer,' i.e. a buyer who would give a fair price.

29. 21. **pardy** = *par Dieu*, by God; (also in French *pardi*). In the first edition it is 'Goð wote': orig. *scilicet*.

29. 22. **vagabonds**. 'The efforts of the legislature to regulate wages and punish vagabondism are a proof that many irregularities did exist. Licenses to beg and the efforts to repress unlicensed begging indicate the prevalence of beggary' (Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII.*). The multitudes of beggars and tramps, for which England is still distinguished from some European nations, was at this time very great, and after the dissolution of the monasteries became still greater. In 1550, preaching before Edward VI., Thomas Lever exclaims: 'O merciful Lord, what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixt among them, lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Winchester.'

29. 25. **For one ...**. Before this Robinson has omitted a sentence of the original which means: 'For when no land is sown there is no country work, to which alone they have been accustomed.'

29. 26. **occupying**: working, making use of. See on 18. 31.

29. 29. **the price of wool ...**. This must have been caused by export, the decrease of agricultural products, and (as More states later) by the increase of wealth in the sheep-owner class together with the impoverishment of the land labourer. Anyhow we find the fact stated, e.g. in the *Decay of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep* (cited by Dr. Lumby), where it is asserted that 'The more sheep the dearer is wool, mutton, beef, corn and white meat, and the fewer eggs for a penny.'

29. 34. **rot ... murrain**. There was a severe cattle plague in Germany and France in 1506, and to this More may be alluding,

though it occurred some ten years after the supposed visit of Hythloday to England. Brewer (*History of Henry VIII.*) cites from an old document that there was a 'general Rott and Morregn among Cattel' in the year after the French war—but which French war? Possibly that of 1491 (see 25. 30).

30. 10. **passeth for** : see on 21. 19.

30. 16. **dearth** : *i.e.* dearness, high prices.

30. 22. **that thing** ... : *i.e.* hospitality.

30. 28. **to amend** ... : this slight touch of sarcasm is not in the original.

31. 1. **tables** : orig. *fritillus* = dicebox, or sometimes the dicing-table. Possibly Robinson by 'tables' means backgammon. Chaucer speaks of playing at 'chess or tables.'

31. 2. **tennis** : orig. *pila*, *i.e.* ball. Tennis is mentioned by Shakspeare. It was a fashionable French game. Dictionaries give its derivation as possible from Fr. *tenez!* (hold!). The Germ. *Tenne* = a level space or court. Whether such games were regarded by More as not only 'lewd' (low, vulgar), but also 'unlawful,' I cannot say. The orig. has merely *improbi*, which gives rather the idea of unseemly excess, extravagance, disorder, than of illegality. One would have expected such denunciation rather from a Puritan writer than from More.

31. 8. **engross and forestall** : buy up wholesale (*en gros*, hence 'grocer') and secure in advance, so as to command the market.

31. 9. **monopoly** : lit. single-selling, *i.e.* the sole right or power of selling a thing.

31. 17. **advance yourselves** : boast. Cf. 27. 30.

31. 18. **beautiful ... show** : all this represents the one word *speciosam* in the original, which in his first edition Robinson translates simply by 'beautiful'; but *speciosus* from the first meant externally beautiful, and naturally acquired the sense of deceptively fair, specious.

31. 22. **a God's name** : orig. *videlicet*, of course.

32. 6. **Hold your peace** ... : a specimen of the 'rough speech' of 24. 14. A marginal note in Latin (by More—or Erasmus?) tells us that it was the Cardinal's habit thus to interrupt talkative persons. More frequently ridicules such 'disputers' and logicians. See p. 94.

32. 21. This argument, which seems plausible enough, has apparently been controverted by facts. Reverence for the mystery of life is found in nations and individuals at extremely diverse stages of development—from the apparently almost total apathy of the Chinese to the horror at taking even an animal's life felt by the Burmese, or that of the ancient Pythagoreans (according to Horace's humorous version) at

'slaughtering' a bean. It seems reasonable to believe that the more reverence we show for such a mystery as human life, the more hope there will be of the human race rising to a higher level. To defend society, and at the same time to reform the criminal, should be the object of legislation. The question is whether capital punishment is the right means to this end; and in answering this question reverence for the mystery of life should certainly have a word. If capital punishment is merely a matter of social or political convenience the regicide has no less logic on his side than the judge. See on 120. 19.

32. 30. **so cruel ... laws**: a paraphrase of the orig. *tam Manliana imperia* (i.e. such Manlian edicts) an expression used by Livy (iv. 29). There were many celebrated members of the Gens Manlia, several of them dictators. The distinctive title of the Manlian family was 'Torquatus,' gained by the great adversary of the Gauls, Titus Manlius, who in 361 B.C. despoiled a barbarian foe of his 'torques' (golden neck-chain). The father of this warrior was Lucius Manlius (dictator 363 B.C.), who, on account of the severity of his rule, was called 'Imperiosus' (Livy, vii. 3). The ordinary epithet of severe laws is 'Draconian.'

32. 33. **so stolcal ordinances** The Stoic philosophers taught that all crimes are equal (*omnia peccata esse paria*)—a doctrine ridiculed by Cicero (*Pro Murena* and *De Fin.* iv. 19) and Horace (1 *Sat.* 3) who says: 'no logic will ever prove that he commits so great a crime who picks cabbages in his neighbour's garden as he who at night pillages the sacred treasures of the gods.'

32. 36. **both a matter**: i.e. both one matter.

33. 6. **after no larger wise** ...: i.e. only within the limits prescribed by human ordinances.

33. 10. The Utopians do not believe in a god of war or a deity that delights in blood (140. 6), and they 'kill no living beast in sacrifice'; but several times one reads of political and other crimes for which 'the punishment is death.' See on 36. 13.

33. 16. **danger of** The word 'danger' seems to be a corruption of *dominium* (domain, jurisdiction). Hence 'debt,' 'obligation.' Cf. Shaks. *Merch. Ven.* vi. 1. 'You stand within his danger, do you not?' See 93. 25 and 105. 10.

34. 9. **discribed**: sometimes the French form of the word 'described' (e.g. 149. 5); but it also = 'descried' (as in 37. 15).

34. 22. **stone quarries**. The horrors of the convict quarries and mines (*lapidicinae, metalla*) of the Greeks and Romans are often alluded to by ancient writers. Readers of Browning will remember Balaustion and the Athenian captives in the Sicilian quarries.

34. 27. **Polylerites**: from πολὺς 'much' and λῆρος 'nonsense.' See on 17. 21. More is laughing at his own fabrications.

34. 28. **wittily**: i.e. wisely; as often in older English.

34. 36. **to enlarge**. Cf. 22. 36.

35. 4. **commodious** The orig. is literally 'not splendidly so much as comfortably.' The word *galant* in French and German often means showy and smart in appearance. Cf. 71. 30.

35. 25. **indifferent good**. Cf. 'Two lips, indifferent red' (*Twelfth Night*, I. 5) and 'indifferent honest' (*Hamlet*, III. 1).

35. 23. The principle of giving convicts not merely useful work, but also a certain amount of independence, and endeavouring to develop their self-respect and sense of honour, is one which has had to wait till our day for any efficient application. Our ticket-of-leave system dates from 1853. The convict dress and clipped ear rather spoil More's picture.

35. 32. **certain lands** In the orig. it is merely 'elsewhere public revenues are appointed hereto.'

36. 11. **the tip of the one ear** ... : a reminiscence of the ancient custom of cutting off or mutilating the ear of a recaptured fugitive slave.

36. 13. **is death**. See on 33. 10. Even the free man renders himself liable to capital punishment by such a venial offence as giving money. The way in which More has to bolster up his fiction by such inconsistencies shows the insecurity of the foundation on which he builds. But possibly this is inevitable in any such vision of a better state of things.

36. 28. **of counsel** ... : accomplices in that design: the orig. means 'free pardon for complicity.'

36. 31. **in this behalf**: in regard to this matter.

37. 10. **taken with the manner**: taken red-handed (Latin *manus*). *Numbers* v. 13, 'If she be taken with the manner.' Cf. Shaks. *L.L.L.* I. 1. 206, and *Hen. IV.* II. 4. 437, where there is a play of words: 'The manner of it is, I was taken with the manner.'

37. 16. **But** = *At* in the orig. Latin, introducing a supposed objection.

37. 16. **doubted**: feared. 'I doubt some foul play' (*Hamlet*, I. 2).

38. 18. **cast**: condemned, defeated at law.

38. 31. **which would** ... = who wished to appear.

39. 2. **indifferent**: cf. 35. 25. The meaning is 'really not so bad.' It does not qualify 'reasonable.'

39. 4. **shooteth oft** The orig. is, literally: 'with frequent throwing Venus is at length thrown.' With the Romans

the 'Venus,' or the highest throw at *tali* (four knuckle-bones with four sides marked with the numbers 1, 3, 4, 6), was a throw where all four numbers were different—the total being 14. The lowest throw was four aces, and was called the 'Dog' or the 'Vulture.' They had also six-faced dice (*tesserae*), of which three were used at games of chance (*aleae*). Here the highest throw was three sixes. The dice-box was *fritillus*. See on 31. 1.

39. 10. **unwieldy** : *i.e.* 'unable to wield their bodies'; *i.e.* impotent (see on 74. 19). Cf. *weldy* = active. The word has now generally a passive sense.

39. 21. **leese** : old form of 'lose.' Cf. Germ. *verlieren*.

39. 25. **houses of religion** : in the orig. it is 'into the monasteries of the Benedictines.'

39. 30. **friar**, Fr. *frère*, Ital. *frate* or *fra*, Lat. *frater*, was the title adopted by the Mendicant Orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites) in especial distinction from the Benedictine Monks. 'I do not remember,' says Mr. Jameson, 'meeting with pictures of the Mendicant Orders in any of the Benedictine houses and churches.... From the beginning the monks have been opposed to the friars.' The monastic discipline exacted seclusion from the world, whereas the Mendicants went out into the world, took the vow of poverty, and begged their food and raiment. They were not called *Padri*, fathers, but *Frati* (or *Frari*), brothers; and in his humility St. Francis adopted for his followers the title of *Frati Minori*, lesser brothers. In England the Black-friars and the Gray-friars were respectively the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The feeling that existed between these Orders accounts for the delight which this 'frater theologus' takes in the 'jest of priests and monks.'

40. 6. **gall** : *i.e.* a galled spot.

40. 9. **javel** : scoundrel. Dr. Lumby quotes from More's *English Works* (p. 1272); 'a lewd, unthrifty javell'; and from Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (l. 309), 'two javels.'

40. 14. See *St. Luke* xxi. 19. The Friar quotes the Vulgate. See our Rev. Version.

40. 18. See *Ps.* iv. 4, Rev. Version, where the marginal reading agrees with the Vulgate and the Septuagint, and also with *Eph.* iv. 26.

40. 22. See *Ps.* lxix. 9.

40. 24. **The scorers** ... In the orig. there is a quotation from a Latin hymn : 'Irrisores Helizei ...' etc.

Perhaps the friar was a Carmelite (White Friar), for this order claimed Elijah of Mt. Carmel as its founder. *Eliseus* is a form of the Greek for 'Elisha.' Cf. *St. Luke* iv. 27.

40. 32. See *Prov.* xxvi. 5.

41. 1. **bald** : referring to the tonsure.

41. 6. **suitors**. Cardinal Morton was Lord Chancellor at this time. See More's description of his own legal and other duties, p. 7.

41. 14. **improve** = Lat. *improbare*, i.e. disapprove = **disprove**, l. 19.

41. 18. **foolish inventions**. The way in which More shuffles off the responsibility on to the shoulders of his fictitious (here doubly fictitious) characters is very ingenious, and reminds one of the 'irony' and humour of Socrates.

41. 28. **of a child**. See on 24. 6.

42. 2. **Plato**. See Introduction for Plato's *Republic*, and note to 22. 33. for his philosopher-rulers. Plato himself endeavoured to carry out his theory in the case of Dionysius the Younger of Syracuse—not very successfully. His theory may be found in the Fifth Book of his *Republic*. For Dionysius and Dion see *Classical Dictionary*. Dionysius was finally expelled (B.C. 343) from Syracuse by Timoleon, and died at Corinth—having been obliged, it is said, to take to keeping a school in order to support himself.

42. 7. **will vouchsafe** : in orig. there is a negative, so probably we should read **not vouchsafe** Otherwise the answer must be 'not far,' as in 45. 17.

42. 27. **Milan** Hythloday is speaking of the state of Europe about the year 1516, when More wrote this passage. Louis XII., who had lately died, had assumed (1498) the titles of King of Naples and Duke of Milan—Naples he claimed through the Visconti; Milan through the Anjou princes. He conquered Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, and sent him a captive to France. Then he attacked Frederick, King of Naples, and shared his kingdom with Ferdinand of Spain.

Francis I. was now on the French throne. Milan had been retaken by the Sforzas, and Naples was (since 1503) held by Ferdinand of Spain. It was the great longing of Francis to recover these two lost prizes. His ambition led to the disastrous battle of Pavia (1526), where he was taken prisoner by Charles V., and had to renounce all claims to Italy at the peace of Cambray (1529), at the signing of which peace More was present. By this peace Charles was recognised as Emperor. Naples is called **fugitive** because (as Barnet translates the Latin *fugitivam*) it had 'so oft slipped out of their hands.' The French kings had often endeavoured to seize it in earlier times.

42. 28. **Venetians**. Venetia had been divided (1508) between Louis, Ferdinand, the Emperor Maximilian, and Pope Julius II.

42. 30. In 1477 Mary of Burgundy married the Emperor Maximilian, and Flanders (a part of this duchy) together with Brabant, thenceforth formed part of the Austrian Niederlande. Burgundy itself was claimed and returned (1482) by the French king (Louis XI.).

42. 32. **Here whiles** This sentence may be considered to end in the middle of p. 45, all p. 44 being a kind of parenthesis.

43. 2. **the Germans**. There is a marginal note meaning 'Swiss mercenaries.' This Robinson has translated by 'Lance-knights,' i.e. Lanz-knechte, under which name German mercenaries were known. They especially distinguished themselves at the battle of Ravenna, where Gaston de Foix won and died (1512).

43. 3. **Switzers ... money**. See p. 122.

43. 7. **King of Aragon**. See on 15. 3. Navarre, lying on both sides of the natural frontier between Spain and France, had long been a bone of contention.

43. 9. **five eggs**. The *Decay of England* (see on 29. 29) complained that only four eggs could be got for a penny. 'Five a penny' therefore came to mean a good bargain. Cf. Ray's *English Proverbs* (1737): 'You come in with your five eggs a penny, and four of them be rotten.' In Swift's *Journal to Stella* one finds 'he comes in with his *two* eggs a penny'—i.e. with some impudent proposal (Lupton). The expression is a piquant addition by Robinson—for in the original there is no trace of it.

43. 10. **King of Castile**, later the Emperor Charles V. See on 15. 3 and 4. Charles was, it is said, at one time betrothed to Mary, sister to Henry VIII., afterwards second Queen of Louis XII.; or perhaps the betrothal was only suggested. He was 'barely out of his cradle' when he was betrothed to the little daughter (Claude Renée) of Louis XII.; but this came to nothing, though twice afterwards ratified by treaties, and Claude married Francis I. When Henry VIII. played false to his Field of Cloth of Gold promises, and entertained Charles in England, it seems that Charles may have betrothed himself to the princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, though she was then only about six years old. His son, Philip II., afterwards married her. Charles finally married Isabella of Portugal.

43. 12. **stay**: halt. The orig. means 'while the worst knot of all presents itself.'

43. 18. **in a standing**: standing on the alert.

43. 19. **in aunters** (or **in aunter**)=in adventure, i.e. in case that. Cf. *peradventure*.

43. 23. **some peer.** The allusion is probably to Perkin Warbeck, whom Charles VIII. invited to France and received with high distinction, while at the same time the Scots were incited to cross the border (1492). Henry VII. was obliged to secure peace with France with a large bribe.

43. 36. **Achoriens**: almost a synonym of 'Utopians'; from Grk. *a*, the negative prefix, and *χώρα*, a country. See on 17. 21.

44. 6. **alliance**: marriage alliance (as in 43. 11). Such claim was made by Henry V. to the throne of France, and by Louis XII. to Naples and Milan. See on 42. 27.

44. 15. **pilled**: plundered; from Fr. *piller*, Lat. (*com*)*pilare*.

44. 29. **whether**=whichever. Cf. 75. 4.

45. 3. **hurly-burly**: *Macbeth*, I. 1. The **burly** is merely an addition to **hurly**, which means 'howling,' 'noise' (*Tam. Shrew*, IV. 1). From Fr. *hurler*, to howl.

45. 18. **Suppose** The supposition, picked up again at 47. 19, runs on to 49. 24, where the hypothesis is capped by a question.

45. 23. **value of coin.** See on 22. 33 for Erasmus' opinion. Edward IV. coined the 'angel' and 'angelot,' silver pieces of considerably less weight than the 'noble' and 'half noble,' the value of which coins (6s. 8d. and 3s. 4d.) they legally represented. Henry VII. called in old coins, and only paid for them by weight.

45. 27. **feign war**: as Henry VII. did in 1492. See on 25. 30. He made peace with Charles VIII. at Estaples, and the marriage of Anne of Bretagne with Charles added to the 'holy ceremonies.' (She afterwards married Charles' successor, Louis XII.)

45. 33. **moth-eaten laws.** Henry VII.'s ministers, Empson and Dudley, are specially meant. Cardinal Morton himself seems to have abetted this Machiavellian procedure. (See Hallam, *Const. Hist.* ch. i., and Bacon's *Hist. Hen. VII.*)

46. 6. **dispense ... with them.** The orig. *dispensare* means to weigh out, i.e. come to terms with, sell a dispensation or monopoly to

46. 16. **endanger unto** ...: put under the 'danger' of his favour, i.e. make them liable to, dependent on, his personal approval. See on 33. 16. The orig. is literally: 'another advises that the judges should be secured for his interests.' More was doubtless thinking of the occasion when he had opposed the demand of Henry VII. for a subsidy.

46. 24. **pick a thank.** Cf. 1 *Hen. IV.* III. 2, 'smiling pick-thanks.'

46. 26. **take the contrary part** ... : catch his opponents tripping.

46. 35. **equity** means 'a system of supplemental law founded on precedents and established principles, and liberally interpreted by judges.' The judge in this case would interpret certain precedents in the king's favour. Cf. 143. 5.

46. 36. **writhen** : a passive (weak) past part. of 'writhe.' See on 5. 11.

47. 1. **good and just** : orig. *religiosos* (scrupulous), is sarcastic.

47. 4. **Crassus**. The rich Triumvir asserted that 'no one is rich who cannot maintain a legion by his annual income.' More's application of the saying is hardly exact. In the orig. it is not quite plain whether he means that the king who has to maintain an army must have unlimited supplies, or that every king, because he always must keep a standing army, must have unlimited supplies.

47. 6. **furthermore that** Compare what follows with the doctrines of Machiavelli and those of Erasmus given on 22. 33.

47. 24. **for their own sake**. This doctrine is founded on that of Erasmus, that 'consent makes a prince.' See on 22. 33. In his *Contrat Social* Rousseau pushes the theory into the realm of absurdity, and proclaims not merely universal suffrage but universal sovereignty. More has emphasised his doctrine in several of his Latin poems, one of which he heads with words meaning 'Tis the consent of a people that gives and takes away kingship,' and in the lines he utters the then extraordinarily daring assertion that 'a man who rules men should rule them no longer than they whom he rules shall wish.'

48. 12. **Fabricius**. See *Classical Dict.* and cf. Horace, *C. I.* 12. It was Curius, not Fabricius, who made this remark.

48. 21. **feat** : way, method of doing anything. Cf. on 19. 35.

48. 25. **do cost** The original means 'let him accommodate his expenses to his income.'

48. 36. **Macariens** : i.e. the 'blessed people'; an allusion to the 'Islands of the Blest.' See on 17. 21. The thread of the sentence is broken, and is picked up again at 49. 22.

49. 8. **suffice ... battle**. In Utopia itself war is the main object for which gold is kept. See p. 88. The admission by More of the necessity of war, in spite of all that he says against it, has to be bolstered up by other concessions and inconsistencies, in the same way as he denounces capital punishment and yet allows it in his ideal state. The existence of slavery, too, in Utopia seems a striking inconsistency.

49. 12. **too little** Somewhat similarly, in Utopia no large state treasure is allowed, lest rulers should be tempted to use it against the people (p. 89).

49. 21. **informations** : proposals, utterances.

49. 30. **prevented** : preoccupied.

49. 31. **school philosophy** : 'scholastic,' abstract speculations built up on the foundation of Aristotle's metaphysics.

50. 3. **civil** (Lat. *civilis*) : 'suited to state affairs,' 'useful in matters of polity.' The philosophy which More pretends here to recommend is a 'crafty wile' that he must have despised. His real feeling seems expressed by Hythloday's answer and his 'in season and out of season' boldness (51. 20). The whole passage offers an interesting comment on More's persistent silence on the subject of the supremacy, when in danger of his life.

50. 8. **Plautus** and **Terence** were the two great Roman comic dramatists. Plautus (born about 254 B.C.) was the elder by about sixty years. Twenty of his comedies are still extant. They are founded mainly on Greek models.

50. 11. **Seneca**. See on 17. 27. The *Octavia* is one of the ten tragedies attributed to Seneca ; but as Seneca himself is introduced, it seems hardly likely that he wrote it. Octavia (daughter of the Emperor Claudius) was Nero's wife. He divorced her in order to marry Poppaea, and soon afterwards had her put to death. In the play Seneca (who was Nero's old tutor) gives him advice which Nero does not accept very submissively. 'It is only a dullard who 'doesn't know what he may do,' says Nero. 'One should do what one ought, not what one may,' says Seneca. 'The public tread underfoot him who is submissive,' retorts Nero. 'They will kick him out if he makes himself hated,' answers Seneca.

50. 13. **dumb person** : i.e. the mute player. The word **person** (literally something 'sounded through,' i.e. a player's mask) came to mean a player, or a character in a play, a personality, individual. In Greek tragedy there are frequently 'dumb masks.'

50. 15. **gallymalfrey**, or *gallimaufry* : a dish of various ingredients, hotch-potch ; Fr. *galima-frée* = *espèce de fricassée composée de restes de viande*. Cf. *Galimatias*, confused talk, nonsense. (See Larousse for the supposed derivation from Gallus Mathiae.) Possibly also **gallymalfrey** may have something to do with a cock ; cf. Scotch 'cock-a-leekie,' a kind of hotch-potch.

50. 34. **subtle train** : the orig. means 'by a pull askance.'

50. 35. **handsomely** : in a way well adapted (handy) for the purpose ; deftly.

51. 15. **better, yet ... out of place.** This expresses much the same as the last words of the *Utopia* (147. 10). The whole Utopian system stands or falls with the practicability of communism, and More was wise enough to know that no mere theoretics can ever prove or disprove practicability in such cases. The very strong way in which (if we are to accept Hythloday as his spokesman, in spite of such ironical comments as that on p. 146) he speaks in favour of communism cannot but convince the impartial reader that More did really consider it a thing to be fairly tested. Had he lived in the age of Wordsworth he would have doubtless shared that poet's enthusiasm and deep disappointment in regard to the French Revolution.

51. 31. **in open houses** : orig. *palam in tectis*, openly on roofs, probably the Vulgate rendering. It might also mean 'inside houses'; but the Greek means unmistakably 'on the top of houses.' The fact (if it be a fact) that we evade such precepts of Christ as that of 'non-resistance to evil' is much insisted upon by the Russian writer, Tolstoy.

51. 36. **wried.** The verb 'to wry' seems not to be used.

52. 1. **rule of lead** : *i.e.* one that can be wried. The 'lead rule' of the Greeks (mentioned by Aristotle) was perhaps a pliant or curved rule of lead used for moulding the wave or curve of the ogee in Lesbian architecture.

52. 4. **sickerly** : securely. Cf. Germ. *sicherlich*.

52. 8. **Terence** : see on 50. 8. The reference is to the *Brothers* (*Adelph.* 1. 2. 26), where Mitio says, 'if I increase or abet his anger I shall be as mad as he is.'

52. 9. **subtle train** : see 50. 34.

52. 24. **in his neck** : *i.e.* on his neck. Cf. 'to lay guilt on another's shoulders.' See on 121. 29.

52. 26 **Wherefore Plato** In the *Republic* (Bk. VI.) Plato, speaking of the wise man, says: 'Such a man keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day,' etc. The 'goodly similitude,' as related by More, has a close resemblance to a passage from a letter of More's step-daughter, Lady Alice Alington, to Margaret Roper. It may be found in the aforementioned volume of the 'King's Classics,' pp. 114, 127.

53. 1. **beareth all the stroke** : has all the influence. Cf. 'where money beareth all the swing,' 77. 9. With what follows, compare notes on 51. 15 and 46. 35.

53. 24. **Plato ... no laws** See Introduction. Dr. Lupton cites the fact that Plato was once asked to undertake the constitution of a new city built by the Thebans and Arcadians (perhaps Megalopolis), and refused to do so because the citizens would not accept 'equality.'

53. 27. wealths and commodities : in orig. merely *commoda*. It will be noticed later that More does not limit himself to what is the usual programme of modern socialism, *i.e.* common, or state, proprietorship of the sources and means of money making; he allows no private property, even in what is produced or earned—food, clothes, etc., being freely obtainable by all citizens, and no internal trade existing, money itself not being of any value in Utopia itself.

53. 34. a few divide ... the whole riches. 'Capitalism,' or the undue accumulation of property in the hands of individuals (or societies), has ever been a source of great social evils. It was capitalism and the land question—the question of *latifundia*—which caused such constant internal disturbance in Roman history. The modern socialistic programme, which prescribes an equal or fair division of the sources and means of production, differs essentially from Utopian communism, which includes earnings and products. Without this we seem to set up again the idol of money-making in a thin disguise. More felt that the old idol must be overthrown and ground to powder if any true communism was ever to be fairly tested. It is interesting to note that Latimer, in his sermons against the love of riches, condemns communism as against the divine order of society, and adds this curious argument against it: 'If all things were common, there could be no theft, and so the commandment *Thou shalt not steal* were in vain.'

54. 9. this propriety : Lat. *proprietas*, Fr. *propriété* = property, private ownership.

54. 13. as I grant This seems to anticipate the cry, heard so much nowadays: 'We don't want charity, we want justice.' Some people seem to fear that, if pauperism and the need of charity were to disappear, the feelings of dependence, gratitude, etc.—as well as the blessedness of giving and that of working for and sympathising with the poor—would also disappear and leave an aching void. This is surely somewhat like Latimer's fear lest the eighth commandment should prove a thing of nought if we abolished thieves, or the fear lest by abolishing war or otter-hunting we should lose what elicits the grander qualities of human nature—and bestial nature too, for foxes and otters are said to be ennobled by being hunted—or lest, again, we should treat disrespectfully a Scriptural precedent, namely, War in Heaven.

54. 35. make bigger the sore of another part This is, of course, true not only in regard to the enormous sums spent on the pauper, but also in regard to what is of incomparably more importance than money, *viz.* the countless lives that, under the present system, are (nobly indeed) devoting all their energies to 'botch up for a time the sick body of the weal public.'

55. 3. **But I am of a contrary . . .** Is this objection seriously urged by More? From the *practical* standpoint it is a serious objection, and is one raised by Aristotle himself. An equal, or fair, division of land, money, and means of production, such as is proposed by modern socialism—if guarded not too strictly by such sumptuary limitations as More mentions (54. 14 *sq.*)—would allow of what is called healthy competition; and as long as our ideal is merely ‘abundance of goods,’ it certainly does seem necessary to let a man ‘defend that for his own which he hath gotten with the labour of his own hands,’ and not to hand such products over to the state as common property. But the Utopian (and the word means ‘impracticable’) ideal is *not* that of material success, with its abundance and superfluity of the good things of life, although in Utopia there is abundance (see 79. 27 *sq.*). Consequently, as Hythloday shows, the objection does not hold here. But it is worth consideration as a test of the essential difference between Utopian and modern socialistic theories.

55. 14. **reverence of magistrates.** This is answered later in the chapter on Magistrates, p. 72.

55. 22. **never have come thence.** Cf. 150. 26, where Hythloday is supposed to have returned to Utopia.

56. 8. **ultra-equinoctials.** See on 19. 7.

56. 11. **Romans and Egyptians** would be found, about the age of Constantine, 300 A.D., on board Alexandrian wheat ships. Cf. *Acts* xxvii. 6.

56. 32. **declare largely.** The second book was already written.

57. 12. **sit**: short for *sitten*, a more regular form of *p. part.* than *sat*.

BOOK II.

65. 1. **The island of Utopia.** In the early Latin editions (1516 and 1518) are woodcuts of the island. See ‘More’s Portraits.’ The island of Utopia corresponds to some extent with Plato’s island, ‘Atlantis,’ but More was perhaps thinking of Caesar’s description of Britain.

65. 9. **surmounteth into**: the orig. means ‘spread out over.’

65. 12. **nor mounteth not.** Such double negatives (unknown to the Latin original) are not uncommon with Robinson. See Index.

66. 7. **By turning** Dr. Lupton remarks on what he calls this 'repellent feature of the Utopian character.' Doubtless all devices for killing human beings are repellent. And what are we to say of torpedoes and floating mines? Cf. 119. 28.

66. 17. **Abraxa**. Among the Gnostics (see King's *Gnostics and their Remains*, Nutt, 1887) Abraxas was a mystic name or godhead that sometimes occurs in close connexion with the sun-god Mithras (see on 128. 31). It is, according to King, a Greek form of the Hebrew *Ha-Brachah*, 'The Blessing.' But in a German edition of the *Utopia* I find that Abraxas represented the supreme (365th) orb of heaven from which all motion and life was derived (Dante and the Ptolemaics had a similar idea with their *Primum Mobile*; but with them there were only nine heavens), and that the word is not oriental but Greek, seeing that the sum total of the numbers represented by its Greek letters is 365, i.e. the number of the days of the year! Vossius (about 1700) reprimands More severely for omitting the *s*, and thus making the sum-total deficient by 200! Later (106. 31) More says the old Utopian (and Abraxan?) tongue was not unlike the Persian.

66. 34. **fifty-four**: possibly in allusion to the counties of England and Wales, which were then, says Dr. Lupton, fifty-four in number, including the City as a county. 'As Undersheriff, More may have been often reminded that the City was a county.' Scotland never formed a part of Utopia.

67. 6. **Amaurote**. See next chapter. The Greek *ἀμαυρός* means 'dim,' 'dark.' Perhaps the name is an allusion to London smoke and fog.

67. 18. **husband** = 'master or builder of the house'; guardian, caretaker.

67. 23. **by course**: in turn. William Morris has treated this question in his *News from Nowhere*.

67. 25. **bondmen**. The presence of slaves in Utopia may well surprise us. See on 49. 9, and 109. 10. We shall see later who these bondmen are. Here the orig. means 'slaves bound to the estate.'

67. 28. **phylarch** (Greek): the head of a tribe or clan. More spells it 'philarchus,' which reminds one of the amusing passage in which Macaulay castigates Croker (*Essay on Boswell's Johnson*). See p. 72 for other Greek names.

68. 5. **solemn**. The Latin *solemnis* means 'once a year,' hence 'customary and solemn.'

68. 13. **pullen** or **pulleyn** = poultry. Cf. Lat. *pulla*, Fr. *poule*, and our *pullet*.

68. 18. **fierce**: in orig. *ferocientes*, i.e. high spirited. Plato says that we must put children on horseback at the earliest age possible and take them to see the fighting, 'mounted, not on spirited animals or chargers, but on horses selected for speed and docility.' But the cases are not quite the same.

68. 22. **brunt**: any sudden shock; evidently connected with 'burn,' Germ. *Brunst*.

68. 31. **liquorice**: orig. *glycyrrhiza* (i.e. 'sweet-root'), of which our word is a corruption.

68. 32. **sodden** (R. wrote **sodde**) is p. part. of *scethe* (boil). See 84. 4. The word *sad* is another form of the p. part., and one sometimes hears of cakes that are 'sad at heart.'

CHAPTER II.

69. 26. **Anyder** (in orig. *Anydrus*) = 'Waterless': a word fabricated from the Greek. See on 17. 21. The lower course of the Anydrus reminds one somewhat of the Thames, except that the Thames cannot (now at least) be said to run forby the city sweet and fresh and pleasant.

70. 13. **a bridge ... of stonework**. The old stone-built London Bridge was begun in the reign of Henry II. and finished in the reign of John. At one part it had a space furnished with a drawbridge for the passage of large vessels.

70. 17. **another river**. More draws a picture of what London might have been, not what it was. In 1502, perhaps scared by the plague, the Londoners cleared out Fleet Ditch, which was 'choked with mud and dirt,' and 'the navigation thereof was restored to Holborn Bridge, as before' (Maitland's *Hist. of London*, 1730). Perhaps he was also thinking of the Wallbrook stream, or the river Lea—his 'channels' being an anticipation of the New River as well as an allusion to the old conduits.

70. 36. **The streets**. 'If Utopian streets were only twenty feet (not 7 yards) broad, what must the streets of London have been?' exclaims Prof. Brewer (*Hist. Hen. VIII.*). In most towns of that age the streets were narrow, and not particularly clean, but there is no doubt that More was much struck by the comparative spaciousness and cleanliness of such cities as Bruges and Antwerp when he thought of the indescribable filth of London streets, and of English houses. Dr. Lupton says that writers seem at a loss for words to describe the state of the streets in London at this period, and quotes as follows: 'They were little better than narrow lanes, undrained, often unpaved, and the nightly receptacle of filth of all kinds' 'In 1522

an Act was passed for the paving of that "noyous, foul, and jeopardous" highway, the Strand.'

71. 2. The houses. As a contrast to the Utopian house it is not pleasant to hear what Erasmus says about English homes. The following is a translation of a part of his letter addressed to Wolsey's physician anent the strange and terrible Sweating Sickness, which committed such ravages about the year 1517, and from which Margaret More nearly died. Erasmus advocates fresh air and sanitary measures, and his advice seems to have been much needed in England. It is a curious fact that this 'sudor anglicanus,' as it was called, is said to have only attacked English people, even abroad. 'Englishmen,' he says, 'never consider the aspect of their doors or windows, and their chambers are built in such a way as to admit of no ventilation. A great part of the walls of the house is occupied with glass casements, which admit light but exclude the air and yet let in the draught thro' holes and corners . . . The floors are in general laid with white clay and are covered with rushes that are occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for 20 years, harbouring expectorations, vomitings, ale droppings, scraps of fish and other abominations not fit to be mentioned.' He advises more regard to sunlight and fresh air and water . . . streets cleaned from offal and other impurities . . . houses too, where 'putrid offal, bones, and filth reeked and rotted in the unswept and unwashed dining halls and chambers . . .'. He was used to something different in Basel and Rotterdam! (Brewer.)

71. 13. Whoso will In the orig. there is a marginal note here reminding the reader that 'these things smack of Plato's communism.' In the *Republic* (III. end) Socrates says: 'in the first place no Ruler or Protector should possess any private property, if it can be possibly avoided; secondly, none should have a dwelling or storehouse into which all who please may not enter.' See Introduction, 'More and Plato.'

71. 16. gardens ... vineyards. Many old writers praise the gardens and parks of London. In Shakespeare's *Richard III.* the king says to Cardinal Morton:

'My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there.'

'Vine Street, Saffron Hill, took its name from the adjacent vineyard of Ely Place An extensive vineyard, where wine was made and sold, existed near what is now Addison Road Station till the latter end of 1700' (Lupton).

71. 29. platform : ground plan.

71. 35. 1760 years : seems merely a touch to add to the vraisemblance.

72. 2. **at all adventures** : anyhow, haphazard.

72. 3. **ridged** : *i.e.* sloping steeply up to a sharp ridge. Cf. 19. 31.

72. 5. **gorgeous and gallant**. Cf. 35. 4. The transition from Tudor to Elizabethan house architecture was beginning in More's time—or rather the first appearance in England of any real domestic architecture, for in Norman, Early English and Perpendicular times, architecture proper confined its attention almost exclusively to churches, castles, palaces, and great mansions. Towards the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century an important change took place in the arrangement of larger houses. The great lofty hall, necessary in feudal times, became smaller and lower, and the bedrooms, formerly halfway up the hall and at its side, were built above it, thus adding a storey or more to the building. This Elizabethan style, as it was later called—a mixture of Gothic and Italian—had great and beneficial influence on the smaller English home.

72. 7. **flint** : orig. *silex*, by which perhaps More means any durable stone (in Pliny *silex* seems to be limestone). Flints laid in a very hard cement were used much in the chalk districts and in the eastern counties, where many of the great Perpendicular churches are of this material.

72. 8. **timber work**. In the timber panelling and open roof work of the English architecture of More's time consists, perhaps, its greatest glory. 'Nearly the whole of the medieval woodwork which we have remaining is of the Perpendicular style' (Parker). Such timber work is to be seen in many an old palace, mansion, and college. But in Utopia even the smaller dwelling houses are panelled with wood.

72. 13. **glass**. See what Erasmus says (71. 2). Also Harrison, who wrote his *Description of England* in 1577, says that 'of old time our country houses instead of glass did use much lattice, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oak in chequer-wise'; whence one would infer that glass was commonly used in the larger houses of his time (60 years later than the *Utopia*). He also says that windows with 'panels of horn' were everywhere disappearing. The glass casements of that period were of course composed of small panes in leaden framework. The influence of glass on architecture has been very considerable.

72. 14. **amber** : *i.e.* melted into a kind of resin. In earlier times the Romans (as also the Greeks) had merely shutters and lattice work in their windows. Later they used frequently a kind of tale or selenite. At Pompeii glass windows have been found. Oiled paper or linen was used very generally in the dark ages.

CHAPTER III.

72. 18. syphogrant. Cf. 67. 28. More tells us (106. 32) that the names of the Utopian magistrates are of Greek origin; but as he here explains **syphogrant** by the Greek *phylarch* it seems rational to suppose that the word is a fabrication 'not much unlike the Persian.' However, Dr. Lupton's suggestion (borne out by some resemblances to the Greek) that 'syphogrants and tranibores' may be cryptic for 'Stewards (Sty-wards) and Benchers (Bench-eaters)'—a sly hit at More's colleagues at the Inns of Court—is at least ingenious.

72. 20. thirty : *i.e.* 300 in all. In the orig. it is merely 'with their families,' and Robinson gives 30 in one edition and 300 in the other.

72. 22. prince : Lat. *princeps* : here only the chief permanent magistrate or president of each city. There seems to be no king of the whole of Utopia. Each of the 54 cities, including Amaurote itself, send three members to the national Diet, which is held at the metropolis (67. 6 ; 69. 19). Every shire, and also every shire-town, contains about 200×30 , *i.e.* 6000 families, and each family (More says, in 67. 23, 'each rustic family,' and gives 6000 families in each town in 80. 20) has at least 42 members, so the population, at the time of Hythloday's visit, would be about 270,000 for each town and each shire, and about $540,000 \times 54$, *i.e.* 29 millions for the whole of Utopia. In More's day the whole population of England and Wales was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

72. 30. unless he be deposed See on 47. 24. More, perhaps intentionally, guards himself by the fact that his Utopian prince is merely a permanent official proposed by the people and elected by other officials, and has no claim to 'divine rights' of any kind. The twenty tranibores with their two assistant syphogrants and the prince form the Provincial Council, while the 162 members of the National Council (and the 54 princes?) may be regarded as the Parliament or Reichstag; but there is no Kaiser.

73. 11. It is death. See on 49. 8. The Utopian Shire-councils seem to have had the decision of more weighty matters than even our County Councils.

73. 25. defer it In our Parliament notice has to be given for the first reading of every bill. Among the ancient Persians (says Herodotus) existed the perhaps wise rule to discuss important state matters when drunk and to reconsider the question next day, when sober. If by any chance they did discuss a matter first when sober, they always reconsidered it when drunk. Tacitus (*Germ.* 22) attributes a similar habit to

the Germans. A celebrated case of reconsideration is that of the Athenians, who on the second day repealed their blood-thirsty decree to put all the Mitylenaeans to death.

73. 33. **overseen**: having committed an oversight. For the active force of the word cf. 'I was mistaken.'

CHAPTER IV.

74. 5. **brought up** ...: a mistake; the orig. means 'taken out into the country near the city, as for amusement; not only as onlookers, but putting their hand to it in order to use the opportunity of exercising their bodies.'

74. 11. **wool**: naturally mentioned first, considering how often More's thoughts must have, so to speak, gone wool-gathering while writing this book. See on 15. 4.

74. 19. **wielding**. See on 39. 10.

74. 30. **fantasy**: the longer form of 'fancy.'

75. 15. **just**: equal.

75. 16. **three**: omitted in the second edition, thus making nine, instead of six (76. 22) of work. The blunder is repeated in some modern editions. Dr. Lupton cites from a statute of Henry VIII. (1495) which compelled every artificer and labourer to be at his work, with barely two hours of pause, from 5 A.M. till 7.30 P.M. from mid-March to mid-September, and from daybreak to nightfall during the rest of the year, i.e. respectively 12½ hours and an average of about 10. In 1514 an almost identical Act had been passed, with some special exemptions in the case of London, and doubtless More had been personally—possibly also officially—interested in it.

75. 21. **eight ... to sleep**. For More's habits in this respect see Introduction, 'More's Home Life.'

75. 29. **namely**: specially. Cf. title of chap. ii.

75. 30. **appointed to learning**. A daily morning lecture would hardly seem likely to be conducive to the production of anything great in art and literature. But Utopian learning was mainly of a scientific character. The only two extant effusions of the Utopian muse (see Note on Frontispiece) do not make one regret very keenly the non-survival of the *Corpus poetarum Utopiensium*. For the question of art in More's and Plato's ideal states see Introduction.

76. 7. **foolish ... games**. Cf. 31. 1.

76. 9. **stealeth** ... : the orig. means 'plunders,' or 'captures.' The game is mentioned by old writers and seems to have consisted in some rivalry in rapid computation. Chess seems to have been used as a text for a moral-political treatise by a writer named De Cassulis. Possibly this suggested to More his game of the vices and virtues.

76. 21. This is a further answer to the objection broached on p. 55. The amount of time requisite for producing or earning the necessities for bare existence, or fairly comfortable existence, must of course depend very much on the nature of the work, the soil, the climate, physical strength, manual dexterity, mental ability and numberless other things. Thoreau found a very little time sufficient. The task of the syphogrants (75. 6) is one of great difficulty. The enormous disparity in powers of producers, and in the values of products, makes any time-solution of the problem seem hopeless. Moreover, some of the most valuable products, as literature and art, would become almost an impossibility under any such system. More indeed allows 'vacation of labour' to a learned class, and encourages all citizens to devote their spare time to intellectual pursuits (77. 36 ; 80. 3).

76. 32. **be idle** : orig. *stertunt*, snore.

76. 34. **priests** See on 135. 21.

77. 2. **rush-bucklers** : probably much the same as Shakespeare's 'swashbucklers,' i.e. swaggering bullies who swing about their shields.

77. 9. **the swing**, i.e. sway. Cf. a similar expression in 53. 1.

78. 13. **Barzanes** : an oriental regal name, or title (cf. Ariobarzanes). Michels and Ziegler say it means 'son of Zeus.' See on 72. 18 and 106. 32.

78. 14. **Ademus**. Robinson gives **Adamus**, perhaps by mistake, possibly intentionally, thinking that More meant 'the Man' par excellence. But **A-dēmus** means 'without a people,' and is evidently analogous to the river 'Waterless.' See on 69. 26.

78. 32. **in a good stay** : orig. *constituta* : firmly established, stable.

79. 25. **hapt** : wrapt. Perhaps = wlap, the old form of 'lapt.' In the *Sir Patrick Spens* ballad we have 'wapped.' In the *Paston Letters* (1465) there is 'Worsted for doublets to happen me in cold weather.'

80. 1. **pretended** : put forward, kept in view.

CHAPTER V.

80. 7. **use themselves**: orig. *sese utantur*: associate, have 'mutual conversation.'

80. 12. **kindreds**. Notice that More keeps the family as the foundation of his civic edifice. See 'More and Plato.'

80. 20. **six thousand**. See on 72. 22.

80. 22. **of fourteen** ...: orig. *puberes*, i.e. adults. Perhaps More would have put the age a good deal higher than fourteen.

80. 24. **no number can**: because they would be too young to take away from home. This again offers a striking contrast to Plato, in whose state the infants are taken from the parents.

81. 14. **most just cause of war** This is from Plato (*Rep.* Bk. II.). The inconsistency with the Utopian conception of war, and of a just prince, is glaring. See chap. viii. and on 49. 8; 22. 33. But neither Utopias nor world-empires can be built up without some glaring inconsistencies between theory and practice.

81. 23. **pestilent plague**: perhaps a reminiscence of the Sweating Sickness (which had already raged in 1508). See on 71. 2.

82. 10. **or in man**: i.e. or else sometimes in man pride alone is the motive. Orig. *homine sola superbia*.

82. 14. **meat** in older English means food of all kinds.

82. 17. **four-footed beasts** See 134. 34 and 135. 9, where the vegetarian question is touched upon.

82. 22. **bondmen**. See on 67. 25 and p. 109.

82. 32. **thirty families**: i.e. living in dwelling-houses (p. 71) on each side of the hall. The arrangement is somewhat the same as in the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges.

82. 35. **the number**: the size; number of persons.

83. 1. **cured**: orig. *curantur*, i.e. nursed, tended.

83. 2. **so big** ... **large**: represents the one word *capacia*. In More's time, says Dr. Lupton, the only real hospital in London was St. Bartholomew's. There were 'infirmaries' attached to some monasteries. But More is evidently describing what was conspicuous for its absence, and it is more than possible that his remarks may have had influence in extending and improving hospitals. The R. College of Physicians was founded by Linacre, More's friend, two years after he wrote the *Utopia*.

83. 20. **the bishop**: orig. *pontifex*. This 'chief head' of the priests is mentioned again in chap. ix.

83. 26. **symphogranty** : see 72. 18 and 82. 31. Each hall would therefore accommodate about 1200 persons (perhaps 150 would cook and serve), and there would be 200 of such halls in each city. As for country families, see 86. 6.

84. 2. **bondmen** : cf. 82. 22. With two to every family there would be 12,000 in the city and the same number in every shire.

84. 30. In 80. 22 these non-adults are said (by Robinson) to be under fourteen years of age ; so one possibly allowed young people *over fourteen* a place at table, and a decent meal. In the 'Basel sketch' the only persons provided with a proper seat are Sir Thomas and Sir John.

84. 34. **overthwart** : across. Cf. 23. 33, where it is an adjective. The arrangement is as in College Halls and at the Inns of Court, with both of which More was well acquainted. The 'high table,' as also each of the other two (or more) in the body of the hall (see 84. 5), would contain about 400 guests, and these would be divided into 100 'messes' of four each, two men and two women.

85. 9. **youngers** : a noun, as *elders*.

85. 20. **of reading** : with or by reading. This was a habit in More's own household.

85. 33. **to wholesome ... digestion**. Against this there is in the original a marginal note meaning 'This is disapproved by doctors nowadays.'

85. 34. **music**. See description of 'More's home life.'

85. 35. **banquets** : in orig. *secunda mensa*, dessert.

85. 35. **conceits** : confectionery, comfits.

85. 35. **junkets** are really 'reed-cates' : i.e. delicacies served on reed mats, as cream-cheeses, etc.

86. 4. **pleasure**. See pp. 101-5.

86. 13. **profitable let** : useful (good) reason against it. Plutarch tells us that the Spartan lawgiver Lysurgus disapproved of journeyings abroad, lest foreign ideas should be contracted (Lupton).

86. 24. **falleth to ... occupation** : cf. 87. 8. This reminds one of St. Paul's example and injunctions in regard to guests not being 'chargeable' to their hosts.

87. 19. **apply** : we generally say 'ply.' Cf. 75. 8.

88. 4. **proof** : result, output.

88. 6. **madder** : orig. *coccus*, a cochineal excrecence growing on oaks. But the word is used for other scarlet dyes. The

Dyer's Madder (a climbing plant something like Bedstraw) is cultivated in S. Europe for the scarlet dye afforded by its root. The purple dye is that made from shell fish (orig. *conchyliæ*), like the famous Phœnician purple.

88. 10. **mean**: cf. 24. 10. Money is necessary only for their transactions with foreign countries, hiring mercenaries, etc. This is exactly what Plato lays down as the rule for his Commonwealth (*Laws*, 742). He forbids all money transactions among the citizens themselves, such as dowries, loans, usury, etc., and only allows money to be acquired in order to pay drudges and aliens.

88. 18. **But**.... The orig. means 'But in contracting debts they never accept the warrant of private individuals, but only the general warrant of a city secured by documents regularly drawn up.' **Warrantise** is a long form of 'warrant,' guarantee.

88. 34. **strange soldiers**. See p. 122. The rather questionable practices here mentioned are more fully explained in chap. viii.

89. 11. **guise and trade**: in orig. *moribus*, 'customs.'

89. 12. **indifferent**: impartial.

89. 19. **gold and silver**. See quotation from Vespucci's *Travels*, 17. 31. Plato forbids the Rulers and Protectors of the State to 'handle or touch gold and silver, or enter under the same roof with them, or wear them on their dresses, or drink out of the precious metals' (*Rep.* III. end).

89. 29. **hath removed**.... More is probably thinking of the poet Horace, who tells us that gold and silver are far better placed when lying yet undiscovered in the bowels of the harmless earth; but on another occasion, when writing to a rich man, he contradicts himself, and says that silver has no attractive colour while hidden in the avaricious earth, nor till it 'shines with moderate use' (III. 3 and II. 2). Dr. Lupton quotes Cicero (*De Natura Deor.* II. 60) to the same effect. Cf. *Par. Lost*, I. 687.

89. 33. **as the people**...: the orig. is literally 'such as the stupid shrewdness of the populace.' Cf. *Morosophi*, 27. 11. The remark has a kind of two-edged irony.

90. 1. **melt it**. Dr. Lupton reminds us that this was done when (1642) the two Universities sent valuable plate to Charles I. at Nottingham.

90. 10. **that be wise**: in orig. *peritis*: incredible except to the experienced; i.e. those who have actually seen it.

90. 12. **properly**: elegantly.

90. 20. **chains of gold**. Here More is doubtless again poking fun at himself (cf. 17. 21). As under-sheriff he probably had

already worn some such chain of office, and later he was condemned to hang about his neck the magnificent chain which is such a conspicuous feature in some of his portraits. See 'More's Portraits.'

91. 2. **nuts**: orig. *nuces*, which is used for 'trifles,' 'childish toys.' **Puppet**=doll: Germ. *Puppe*, Fr. *poupée*.

91. 4. **divers fantasies** ..., i.e. how differently they affect different minds.

91. 6. **Anemolians**. See Note to Frontispiece. The word is frequently used by Homer to denote what is windy, boastful. Cf. Latin *ventosus*.

91. 27. **cloth of gold**. This humorous description must have recurred to More's memory when, some four years later, he was present at the farcical Field of Cloth of Gold.

91. 29. **aglet**, or **aglette**=Fr. *aiguillette*; i.e. *un cordon ferré par les deux bouts*. In English it seems rather the metal points or tags on fringe or lace. From Shakespeare's 'marry him to a puppet or an aglet baby' (*Taming Shr.* i. 2), it seems as if these aglet-tags were sometimes figures. The orig. has *monilia*, i.e. neck-bands.

92. 1. **painted sheaths**, i.e. external fineries. The twenty-four words, 'how proudly ... themselves,' represent four Latin words, meaning 'how they erected crests.'

92. 19. **lubber**: cf. Milton's 'lubber-fiend' (*L'Allegro*) and Shakespeare's 'lob of spirits' (of Puck), and 'Lob-lie-by-the fire.' The word seems of Celtic origin.

93. 7. **no other thing than a sheep**. An anticipation, as Dr. Lupton remarks, of Dr. Watts'

'When the poor sheep and silkworm wore
That very clothing long before.'

Mr. Collins quotes Pope's 'The fur that warms a monarch warmed a bear.'

93. 13. **lumpish blockheaded churl**: in orig. *plumbeus quispiam*, i.e. any leaden fellow.

93. 18. **cautel**: a Lat. word meaning 'precaution'; hence 'quibble.' Cf. *Hamlet*, i. 3. 15. In Shakspeare *cautelous*=cautious, cowardly, wary.

93. 20. **drivel**: driveller. The orig. is *nebulo*, rascal or prodigal.

93. 22. **augmentation**: appendage.

93. 27. **nigesh penny-fathers**: niggardly misers. Cf. 142. 16. The word *nig* possibly='nigh.'

94. 7. **own native tongue**. It was but natural that the Renaissance, reviving a knowledge and love for what is great in

classical writers, and expelling little by little the monkish jargon of the dark ages, should favour the development of modern literature. More himself was one of the precursors of English oratory and prose, and his friends Colet and Lily—though ‘Grecians’ in the fight with the obscurantist ‘Trojans’—were Humanists in the true sense of the word, and taught in English. But Latin for a long time yet was to be the medium in education. Even Milton, though he represents and advocates a far higher education than that which was general in his day in England, and has finely defined education as that which fits a man to perform properly all duties both public and private, seems nevertheless to have regarded Latin as the indispensable medium, and his curriculum is limited almost entirely to Latin authors, though he indeed keeps their practical teachings in view rather than their language.

94. 19. clerks = clerics; hence scholars and learned writers. The orig. has merely *antiquos*, ‘the ancients.’

94. 22. These are terms used in medieval logic, which still formed a large factor in education. **Small logicals** (*Parva Logicalia*) was a schoolbook founded on an old logical treatise by Petrus Hispanus (perhaps afterwards Pope John XXI., about 1277).

94. 25. second intentions. According to certain thinkers, when the mind directs its attention (*se intendit*) to anything, it at first apprehends it as something *per se*, an individual existence, and then begins to comprehend and classify, to refer the thing to a certain genus, and to regard it in its relation to other things. This ‘second intention’ would regard man ‘in common’ with humanity—not as an individual.

94. 28. In Latin ‘to be pointed out by the finger’ is used generally of what attracts general attention. But here the sense is apparently that this second-intention, ‘MAN in common,’ is a favourite blackboard subject of schoolmasters.

94. 29. stars. ‘If an astronomer came in More’s way, he would get him to stay awhile in his house, to teach them all about the stars and the planets’ (Stapleton). See also ‘More’s home life.’

94. 35. amities and dissensions ..., i.e. affinities and oppositions. The belief in astrology held its ground very obstinately. More than a century after the *Utopia* was written the greatest commander of his age, Wallenstein, kept a private astrologer, and was guided mainly by horoscopes. Pico di Mirandola, whose works had a great influence with More, wrote much against astrology.

95. 5. original beginning. The ancient sages of Greece and Asia Minor made a speciality of this question. They taught of

one prime element, such as water, fire, or air. An elaborate description of what in some ways is not unlike the modern theory of the evolution of the universe is given by the great Roman poet Lucretius in his poem *De rerum natura*. Virgil alludes to him in the well-known lines beginning 'Happy he who was able to investigate the causes of things'—a passage that More evidently had here in mind.

95. 11. manners and virtue : orig. *de moribus*, i.e. ethics. The main drift of Utopian ethics is decidedly non-ascetic—it is towards that 'merry' living and 'merry' dying which More himself so often recommends. Its *summum bonum* is such 'pleasure' or 'happiness' as the great Greek philosopher Epicurus (not his later followers) accepted as the true end of existence—a happiness which is really identical with the Stoical idea of virtue, and is (as More evidently held) entirely consistent with the Stoical maxims of a well-balanced mind and a life according to nature, and built on a much sounder foundation than the pride of intellect, viz. on the human will in harmony with the divine will. The marginal note in the original suggests Cicero's treatise *De finibus* as a source of More's Stoic-Epicurean ethics.

95. 19. almost too much. What More's real feeling was about asceticism it is very difficult to say. See his life for his near and happy escape. In chap. ix. the ascetics are deemed by the Utopians to be 'holier,' and the non-ascetics to be 'wiser.'

95. 23. from their ... religion. This is a mistranslation. The sense of the original is : 'from religion, which is grave and strict and generally gloomy and rigorous.' Hythloday is not describing the Utopian religion, which by no means deserves these epithets.

95. 33. religion ... reason. This distinction between religion and reason, as if religion had no organic connexion with one's intellectual convictions, perhaps affords a key to More's enigmatical character. Father Bridgett, in his *Life of More*, gives one to understand that it is of no consequence whatever whether or not More held *intellectually* the views that he propounds, often so seriously, seeing that what may have been his *religious* beliefs 'we can only gather directly from his submission to the Church both in faith and morals.'

96. 16. whereto only ... , i.e. to virtue alone ; to which alone the Stoics attributed felicity.

96. 18. virtue ... nature : 'to live according to nature is to live happily,' said the Stoics. What exactly they meant is a question much debated. Among the great Stoic philosophers were Zeno (the founder), Epictetus, Seneca, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

96. 27. **in respect ...** : in orig. *pro naturae societate*, in consideration of our natural relationship, i.e. as fellow-creatures.

96. 28. **For ...** The principle here laid down of being 'merry' oneself and making others 'merry,' guided More in his own home and doubtless also in all other relations with his fellow-men. See 7. 22. The affection which he inspired in his friends is very noticeable in letters addressed to him, or written concerning him. See for instance pp. 149, 151. Erasmus often addresses him as *Carissime*, and by other such titles of affection.

97. 32. **These laws not offended ...** : an 'absolute' construction in imitation of the Latin ablative absolute *his inoffensis legibus*. Cf. 98. 14 and 140. 25. When thus used it is quite legitimate, and sometimes effective; but the misuse of the absolute construction is one of the commonest blunders committed by ill-educated writers.

98. 9. **bring more pleasure.** Wordsworth (in *Simon Lee*) puts this in a striking way :

'I've heard of hearts unkind, kind deeds
With coldness still returning ;
Alas ! the gratitude of men
Hath oftener left me mourning.'

98. 15. **virtues ... referred ... to pleasure.** Understood aright this is indubitably true. Christianity combines into one the two half truths of Epicurus and Zeno.

98. 18. **Pleasure.** How strongly More felt on this point is evident from the space given to this question—viz. pp. 95 to 105. He does not give us any searching analysis or rigid definitions, but—like Socrates—treats the subject in an easy and somewhat disconnected fashion, appealing to common sense and trusting to the practical application of his theory rather than to logic.

98. 19. **Appetite they join to nature.** The word *naturae* in the original may be genitive or dative. The sense is either 'they add, quite rightly, natural appetite,' or 'they add appetite (i.e. healthy bodily desires) quite rightly to nature,' i.e. regard them as forming a part of normal human nature. In either case this Utopian denial of original sin and the desperate wickedness of human nature is a refreshingly audacious admission (if such it be) of an intellectual conviction that had apparently nothing to do with More's religion.

99. 29. **not ... of one hair** : not a whit ; a literal rendering of the Latin.

99. 32. **gems and precious stones.** See 93. 2. Both writers and painters of this age have left us copious evidence of this. Portraits of Queen Elizabeth present her in a variety of dresses bristling with a vast number of gems, pearls, etc.

100. 32. **barking.** Contrast Shakspeare's evident delight in the 'music' of the chase (*Mids. N. Dr.* iv. 1), and these verses written by More in early life :

'Manhood I am ; therefore I me delight
To hunt and hawk, to nourish up and feed
The greyhound to the course, the hawk to the flight,
And to bestride a good and lusty steed :
'These things become a very man indeed.'

101. 9. **the other parts of it, i.e. of butchery.**

101. 12. **necessity.** Many who share the Utopian view of hunting also deny the necessity of the butcher's vocation. The more one thinks about it the less one sees any pleasure or necessity in either. See 140. 5.

101. 15. **the very beasts.** A modern eminent authority on these subjects, Mr. Kay Robinson, explains the untiring energy and eager delight of the sportsman as a survival of the emotions which were excited in our prae-human ancestors by the sight of their prey.

101. 25. **lewd** : low. The orig. means 'abnormal,' 'unnatural.' See on 98. 19.

102. 7. **upright** : in orig. *aequabili*, well-poised, normal. The state is described well by the old formula : *Mens sana in corpore sano*.

102. 24. **because ... motion.** The sense of the original is, 'because they say it cannot be felt as present unless by some external emotion,' i.e. an emotion excited by external objects. See l. 10.

103. 5. **wont** : old and correct form of the p. part. of 'to won,' to be accustomed, or to reside. As adj. we use 'wonted.'

103. 8. **pristinate** : pristine, original.

103. 15. **the lethargy.** In his first edition Robinson has 'the sleeping sickness.'

103. 33. **than thereby to be eased** The sense of the orig. is, 'it is better not to need this kind of pleasure (eating and drinking) than to have to be eased of pain.' In the *Republic* (583) and also in the *Gorgias* (495) Socrates puzzles his interlocutors with interminable questions about the real nature and relation of pleasure and pain, which is the same kind of puzzle as that of good and evil.

104. 27, **for the diversity of meats, i.e. in order to distinguish their foods.** More's words suggest various questions. Do animals take no delight in beautiful things? What then is the object of the bright colouring of birds, or of flowers? Why does the bower-bird adorn his 'run' with coral, coloured stones,

and flowers? Why does the blackbird or the nightingale sing? Is it a fiction that 'Over his own sweet voice the stock-dove broods'?

104. 36. **fasting.** Utopian fasting is mentioned in 139. 6, but it is not of an ascetic nature. The 'holier' sect (p. 135) would also probably fast. More's real opinion—whatever it may have been—is here carefully guarded by the distinction that he makes as to motive.

105. 17. **lores and ordinances**: teachings (doctrines) and laws.

105. 31. **exploited**: lit. unfolded, developed; worked.

106. 10. **in Latin there was nothing.** Cf. 17. 25. One must remember that More, Colet, Lily, and Erasmus were all enthusiastic 'Grecians.'

106. 14. **read unto them**: in orig. *legere*, i.e. act as Reader; teach.

106. 23. **the company** See 77. 36.

106. 29. **false**: i.e. if the text were not corrupt.

106. 33. **Persian ... Greek**: e.g. Mithras, Barzanes, Amaurote, Syphogrants, Phylarchs, etc.

107. 1. **fardel**: bundle, burden. Cf. 'Who would fardels bear?' (*Hamlet*).

107. 6. **a marmoset**: the orig. means a long-tailed monkey. See 'More's Home Life' in Introduction, and 'Portraits.' Theophrastus (died in 287 B.C., some say at the age of 107) was Aristotle's successor. When dying he is said to have complained that life closed just as one began to understand its problems. He wrote much, but only his *Characters* and his treatise on plants are extant.

107. 9 *sq.* **Lascaris**: his Greek Grammar was first printed at Milan in 1476; that of **Theodorus** ten years later at Venice, by Aldus; the Greek lexicon of **Hesychius** in 1514, at Venice (Hythloday's copy must therefore have been in MS.). **Dioscorides** (about 200 A.D.?) wrote a work on 'Materia Medica,' which was printed in 1499.

107. 12. **Lucian.** See on 1. 1. For other Greek authors mentioned consult a Classical Dictionary. **Herodian** (abt. 200 A.D.), a favourite Greek author in More's time, is now seldom read. He wrote a history of Roman Emperors.

107. 14. **Aldus Manutius**, head of the celebrated Venetian printing firm, settled in Venice in 1489. In 1501 he 'introduced a new Italian character called Aldine ... and began to print in small octavo or duodecimo form' (Hallam). He died in April, 1515, shortly before More's visit to Antwerp.

107. 16. **Tricius Apinatus** : a name formed from (see *Martial*, xiv. 1. 7) Apina and Trica, two little towns in Apulia, the names of which (like Horace's *Ulubrae*) were used to express anything trivial (cf. 'Cranford,' 'Blarney,' etc.). The name is therefore equivalent to 'Tittle-tattler.'

107. 17. **Hippocrates** (about 400 B.C.), the first of great Greek physicians, was highly valued by More's contemporaries, the Hippocratic medical methods having been lately restored in the place of the Arabian, which had held the field during a great part of the dark ages. Linacre, More's friend, was one of those who, by translation from the Greek original, helped to introduce the methods of Hippocrates into England.

107. 18. **Galen** (about 150 A.D.) of Pergamus in Asia Minor, practised at Rome, and attended M. Aurelius, the Emperor, and his sons. The *Microtechné*, or 'Little Art' is a short version of a larger medical work.

107. 20. **need of physic** : i.e. medical science. But, as the marginal note *contemplatio naturae* shows, More is evidently speaking of the study of nature as intimately connected with the science of medicine ; as indeed they were in medieval minds. This passage reminds one of passages in Goethe's *Faust*, where the exploration of the secret mysteries of nature (that *rerum cognoscere causas* of which Virgil speaks) is regarded as the highest aim of existence. It is interesting to contrast with this the scorn poured on the arrogant prying of science by Milton and Wordsworth : 'O, there is laughter at their work in heaven !' (*P.L.* viii. and *Exc.* iv.). But both Milton and Wordsworth would have admitted 'contemplation of nature' as highly laudable.

108. 4. **of feats** : i.e. of devices. See 19. 35.

108. 7. **imprinting**. Printing from blocks was practised by the Chinese, it is said, ages before it was attempted in Europe (about 1400). But printing proper may be said to have begun by the invention of moveable type, the discovery of which is generally attributed to Gutenberg of Mainz. The first printed book that is known is a Latin Bible (the Mazarin Bible). It was printed about 1452, say, forty-four years before Hythloday's visit to Utopia.

108. 7. **making paper**. In his *Hist. of Lit.* (i. 1.) Hallam describes the gradual disappearance of papyrus and parchment and the introduction of cotton, and then linen, paper, which last, though known as early as about 1100 (and possibly much earlier), was not much used till about 1350.

108. 15. **reeds** : in orig. *papyro*, on papyrus.

108. 28. **wonders** : the genitive, used adverbially ; cf. 'needs.' In Germ. we have *wunders viel*.

CHAPTER VII.

109. 10. of this sort. This is an answer to the obvious objection that among such a superlatively moral and well-ordered people homebred criminals are surprisingly numerous. Even two bondmen to a family (67. 24) would give 12,000 in every town and 12,000 in every shire—say 1,296,000 in Utopia.

109. 13. gramercy = Fr. *grand merci*, 'many thanks.' The word 'gratis' means 'with thanks.'

110. 17. counsel of the priests. It is noticeable how More emphasizes the fact of the Utopian Church, as the interpreter of God's will, giving its approval to suicide, or *euthanasia*; for there can be no doubt whatever that he regarded any such approval as the rankest heresy. Suicide, anyhow under the conditions here depicted, was approved of by many ancient philosophers, especially the Stoics. Socrates spoke strongly of the impiety of deserting our post till God has given us the signal of release; Plato, however, when legislating about the punishment of murderers and 'those who kill what is called their nearest and dearest' (*i.e.* themselves), orders them to be buried in desert places and in nameless tombs, but makes an exception for those 'whom the city has ordered to die (like Socrates), or who are compelled by the affliction of some very painful and irremediable ill fortune or some incurable disgrace that makes life impossible' (*Laws*, 873).

110. 21. in their sleep: in orig. *sopiti*, *i.e.* put to sleep (by an opiate).

110. 24. believing: they cause to die only those who are thus persuaded.

110. 32. intolerable wayward manners. Eloquent advocacy of this principle is to be found in Milton's *Tracts on Divorce*, in which he justifies his own (unfulfilled) wish to divorce his first wife on the ground of 'contrariety of mind.'

111. 6. is a sickness itself: cf. 'Senectus ipsa est morbus' (Terence).

111. 13. authority of the council. It is very remarkable how More allows the civil power to loose what in his opinion was a sacramental bond, and that too on grounds which none but a believer in the inviolability of affinities or prae-natal engagements would consider justifiable.

111. 31. eftsoons = 'after-soon,' *i.e.* soon after. 'Eftsoons his hand dropt he' (*Anc. Mar.*).

111. 36. chastise their wives . . . The old *patria potestas* allowed the *pater familias* even (in some ages) the power of

capital punishment. In More's time a man might legally 'castigate (*verberare*) his wife with whips and sticks'; but More's word *castigant* by no means involves, nor does it even suggest, brute force. It means 'keep in order,' 'correct.' Cf. 67. 25.

112. 10. **they fear other**: they deter others. Cf. 'For they would be feared of me' (*Ballad of Brown Robyn*), and 'a bug that feared us all' (Shaks. 3 *Hen. VI.*, v. 2).

112. 26. **fools**: in orig. *moriones*, i.e. jesters. More himself kept one. See 'More's Portraits.'

112. 28. **prohibit not ...**: i.e. they think it healthy and commendable to be 'merry' and appreciate jokes; and this helps the jesters also.

113. 6. **with paintings**: in orig. *ab fucis*, i.e. from dyes—such as the red lichen-dye used by Roman women as rouge.

113. 10. **in the conceit**: in the eyes or opinion.

113. 29. **cap of maintenance**, i.e. a cap held in the hand, is the name given to a cap which is (according to dictionaries) carried before the sovereigns of England at their coronation. It was originally a speciality of dukes, and is also called the 'cap of dignity.' It is (says Dr. Lupton) made of crimson velvet and lined with ermine. Robinson gives three translations of the single word *diadema*.

113. 31. **bishop**: in orig. *pontifex*. Cf. 83. 20.

113. 33. **instruct and institute**: i.e. 'trained.' The short and more classical form of the p. partic.

114. 3. Evidently an allusion to the abuse mentioned in 45. 33, viz. the enforcement of obscure and 'moth-eaten' laws.

114. 5. **attorneys, proctors and sergeants at the law**: in orig. merely *causidicos*, i.e. pleaders of cases. An 'attorney' means one to whom a case is 'transferred.' A 'proctor' (Lat. *procurator*, i.e. caretaker) was a legal official with the functions of a solicitor. A 'sergeant-at-law' is (or was) a 'lawyer (barrister) of the highest rank in England and Ireland.'

114. 13. **and whiles he ...**: i.e. the judge. More is said to have asserted that 'he never saw the day yet but that he durst as well trust the truth of one judge as of two juries.'

114. 15. **children**: people; as 'strange children' in *Ps.* 144.

114. 16. **blind and intricate laws**. More's criticism of the English legal system would be no less justified nowadays; and he was himself a great lawyer.

114. 32. **gross**: both here and in l. 18 the orig. has *crassus* i.e. plain, blunt.

115. 16. **affection**: prejudice. Cf. 130. 12.

115. 22. **leagues**: compare the opinion of Erasmus given on 22. 33.

115. 30. **For here**.... This is of course bitterly sarcastic. See on 25. 30, 42. 27, 43. 7, 43. 15. The various and ever-changing combinations between the principal monarchs and Popes during More's lifetime was a striking illustration of Machiavelli's dictum that 'A Prince' (and he included princes of the Church) 'that is wise and prudent cannot, nor ought not, to keep his word, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice.' (See on 22. 33.) Another example was given a few years after More wrote the *Utopia* by Henry VIII.'s conduct towards Francis I.

115. 35. **head bishops**: the orig. means 'through reverence and fear for the supreme pontiffs (Popes).' Robinson, as good Protestant, avoids here and elsewhere the words 'pontiff' and 'Pope.' He also seems to have mistaken *metu* for *motu*. The sarcasm of More seems too mild, though terribly bitter, when one thinks of the crimes and abominations connected with such Popes as Sixtus IV., who instigated two priests to murder Giuliano de' Medici (1478) and whose pontificate was one series of violated treaties and attempts to embroil Italy in wars. Then for ten years Alexander Borgia sat on the papal throne—and perhaps nothing in history can compare, in hideous vice and crime, with that reign of the 'Vicar of Christ.' His relations with Louis and Ferdinand were marked by Machiavellian unscrupulousness. Julius II. (1503-1513)—whose fine portrait by Raphael is so well known—broke his faith with the French (1510) in a very treacherous fashion. In his *Adagia* Erasmus pours forth on the conduct of Christian Princes and Popes still more indignation and contempt than More does.

116. 6. **faithful**: *fideles*, i.e. Believers. Cf. such titles as 'His Holiness,' 'Holy Roman Empire,' Ferdinand 'The Catholic,' Henry VIII. 'Defender of the Faith,' etc.

116. 10. **But**.... This spoils the sense. More says 'The Utopians put no trust in treaties,' and then gives his own opinion as to the way treaties are liable to corruption.

116. 22. **very they**: they themselves, their very own selves.

116. 25. **avaleth**; lowers. Fr. *avalier* = swallow or send downwards (lit. to the valley; cf. *avalanche*). Shakespeare uses *vail* in this sense: e.g. 'vail their high tops,' 'vail lids (of eyes),' etc.

116. 29. **at rovers**: at random. It is said to be a term used in archery to describe a 'roving' (random) shot.

117. 3. **evil**: used adverbially; in orig. *male*.

117. 5. **society ... of nature**: natural tie; cf. 96. 27. See Erasmus' remark (on 22. 33) that Christianity should itself be enough of a bond.

CHAPTER VIII.

117. 21. very beastly : in the orig. there is a play on the words *bellum ... rem belluinam*. Perhaps More believed in the good old derivation of *bellua*, a beast or monster, from *bellum*, war. Cf. 101. 15. Erasmus writes in one of his letters : 'I often wonder how human beings, especially Christian human beings, can be so mad as to go fighting with one another. Beasts do not fight, or only the most savage kinds of them, and they only fight for food with the weapons that Nature has given them.' That war will be abolished among Christian nations, as slavery has been abolished, and that too at a not very far distant date, is a sure and certain hope that animates not a few in our day. The question *how* this will prove possible will solve itself as soon as the puerility and the barbarism of the thing is sufficiently realised.

117. 27. also the women : see below, 124. 12.

117. 28. to seek : *i.e.* wanting ; not uncommon in older English.

118. 4. not ever : not always.

118. 9. the cause probable : *i.e.* if the cause approves itself as just.

118. 19. Nephēlōgētes : 'the Cloud-born' ; Cloudland people. Evidently More was thinking of the 'Cloud-cuckoo-city' in Aristophanes' comedy *The Clouds*. **Alaopolitanes :** 'Blind-city people.' Both names are fabricated, rather roughly, from Greek. See 17. 21, 66. 17.

118. 27. shrewdly : badly. The original sense seems that of wickedness, malice ; hence biting, venomous, sharp-tongued ; *e.g.* 'the air bites shrewdly' (*Hamlet*).

119. 1. wiped beside : cheated of ; cleaned out of.

119. 23. The offenders yielded The construction is rather Latin than English. It is very concise, and might be imitated more freely by us. It differs entirely from the 'absolute construction' of 97. 32, 140. 25, etc.

119. 29. craft and deceit. See on 66. 7. Craft in war was highly prized by the Greeks, as is evidenced by Homeric epithets and not a few passages in Greek literature.

119. 33. crack : cf. 27. 30.

120. 19. kill their enemies' prince. See on 22. 33, 'Tyrannicide.' This seeming approval of assassination as 'a deed of pity and mercy' (121. 15) is one of those strange inconsistencies by which More considered it necessary (as perhaps it was) to bolster

up his fiction. In order to abolish war (as he abolishes private property) in his Utopia, it would have been necessary to adopt in its full extent the non-resistance doctrine, such as Tolstoy inculcates; unless, indeed, all the important ultra-equinoctial nations had agreed (as Christian nations will doubtless some day agree) to give up such a foolish and barbarous practice among themselves and to impose their will on less enlightened peoples.

120. 24. doubled ... alive. An attempt to tone down the picture; but to many minds the incitation to high treason will seem as bad as the incitation to murder. If gold is so all-powerful as More says (l. 36), he might have depended entirely on it to win over the enemy without murder and treason. But here, again, there would be the inconsistency of despising gold and at the same time owing to it such a blessing.

120. 36. So that ... : should be 'So easily do rewards incite to any deed (or crime).'

121. 25. prince's brother ... or nobleman. More may have been thinking of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck (see on 43. 23), and also of the unprincipled efforts of Henry VIII. after Flodden Field (1513) to obtain possession of Queen Margaret (his own sister) and the infant king, and to sow dissension among the Scottish nobles through his agent, Lord Dacre. Perhaps, too, the fate of de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was in his mind.

121. 29. set in their necks : harry, tarre on against them. This seems a different idiom from the 'laid in his neck' of 52. 24 and 127. 26.

122. 7. Zapoletes : the 'Very mercenary' nation, or 'Ready sellers' (ζα ... πωλητής). A Latin marginal note has 'a people not so unlike the Swiss,' and More evidently meant them. They were the 'mercenary' nation par excellence of that age. See 43. 3. They took part in the Italian disturbances described on 42. 27, giving their services to the highest bidder, and changing sides for 'a little more money,' as More says. There is a proverb: *Point d'argent, point de Suisses*.

122. 12. abhorring from : shrinking away from. The orig. merely means 'without.'

122. 21. small wages. When they saw their chance they made exorbitant demands. A friend of More's, Richard Pace, was at Zürich in the autumn of 1515, trying to get Swiss mercenaries for Henry to help him against France. Perhaps Pace had been telling More of his experiences.

122. 29. thereaway : in those parts.

122. 32. familiarly used themselves ... : a Latin expression: to have familiar intercourse. Cf. 80. 8.

123. 3. **halfpenny** : in orig. *unius assis*. The Roman *as* (originally a pound weight of copper) was so constantly reduced in value that the word came to mean a 'last farthing,' or a 'sou' (*soldo*), from which last word the word 'soldier' is derived, i.e. a hireling.

124. 12. **so women** Tacitus says that among the ancient Germans many battles had been won by the women rushing into the fight and exhorting the men. Plato ordains that the wives of the military class should take part in war.

125. 4. **chivalry and feats** ... : in orig. *militaris disciplina*, practice of war.

125. 15. **a band of chosen** Perhaps More was thinking of the story of Lars Porsena and Mucius Scaevola.

125. 35. **persecuted** : pursued.

126. 5. **spite of their teeth** : an insertion by Robinson. It evidently means 'in spite of their fierce resistance.' Cf. *Merry Wives*, v. 5, 'In despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason.'

126. 16. **softly** : the orig. means 'so imperceptibly, and keeping such perfect order.'

126. 28. **handsome** : supple, handy ; cf. 127. 5.

126. 32. **aloof** : afar off.

126. 35. **foins** : forward thrusts ; possibly through the old French *fouine*, from Latin *fuscina*, the trident used by the Roman gladiator called *retiarius* (so called because he also bore a net in which he tried to catch his opponent).

127. 13. **espial** means now the act of spying.

127. 17. **soldiers ... bondage**. This seems an exception to the general rule stated in 109. 3.

127. 32. **seven hundred thousand ducats**. If More means the gold ducat (about 9s. 4d.) this would be about £326,500—say, ten times that amount after the present value of money.

CHAPTER IX.

128. 15. **sun ... moon ... planets**. More here touches on an ancient and widely spread religion, viz. the Eastern (Babylonian and Phoenician) worship of the Sun-god and other celestial powers (Mithras, Baal, Ashtaroth, etc.). The old god of Israel, i.e. El, was probably the same as the Homeric Eelios, the Sun-god. The Greeks imported Sun worship into their religion. It was one of the charges against Socrates that he regarded the sun merely as a huge stone.

128. 16. **a man** This may refer to Zoroaster, or to Greek hero worship, etc. [Buddha was, I should think, scarcely known to More.] But the last words of the sentence seem almost like an allusion to the Christian creed, possibly in reference to the Arian heresy.

128. 20. **unknown, everlasting** More's language here reminds one of definitions of the Deity given by several ancient philosophers. The oldest Greek sages busied themselves rather about the first *physical* cause. They were only feelers after truth. It was Anaxagoras (B.C. 500-428) who first proclaimed Mind or Intelligence as the supreme Orderer of the universe. Socrates (469-399) was the first who stated clearly a belief in the One God of perfect goodness and wisdom. But the greater number of Greek and Roman thinkers, rejecting equally the ordinary popular religion and the (almost Christian) Socratic conception of the Deity, believed in a 'godly power,' such as More here describes, dispersed through the universe. This pantheistic creed was taught by the great philosopher Pythagoras, and by many later philosophers, whereas Epicurus and his followers, such as Lucretius, inclined towards materialism. Virgil has given expression to this 'higher pantheism' in the wonderful and well-known lines in which he speaks of a 'Spirit' that nourishes the universe and a 'Mind' that, 'diffused through all its members, moves its mighty mass.' Cicero held the same creed. Of this 'higher pantheism' also Tennyson sings:

'The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, the plains—
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who reigns?
Is not the vision He? ...
And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot
see;
But if we could see and hear, this Vision—were it not He?'

128. 23. **Father of all**: in orig. *parentem*, an epithet often given to Zeus and Jupiter (Diespiter = Father of Light). Odin (Woden) was also called Der All-vater, Father of all.

128. 31. **Mithra**, or rather Mithras, was the Sun-god of the Persians. His worship was introduced at Rome during the Empire. There is a well-known representation of him, in Phrygian attire and cap, killing a bull—the animal sacred to the Sun-god. In many parts of the Roman Empire—even in Britain—inscriptions and other relics have been found which apparently testify to the worship of this Persian deity. See on 66. 17 and 106. 34.

129. 14. **sent from God**. This is such an obvious line of argument that it seems scarcely necessary to imagine, as Dr. Lupton does, that it was suggested to More by Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*—though, as More once lectured on the subject, he must have

been familiar with the contents. The book is a reply to the question whether the sack of Rome by the West Goths under Alarich (A.D. 410) was due to the wrath of the pagan deities, whom Christianity had overthrown.

129. 27. **instituted** : in orig. *Christo ... placuisse*. Dr. Lupton translates this 'that Christ approved,' and says that 'instituted' is too strong. Nevertheless, *placere* is often used to denote the approval of a senate or other such authority, and here the word 'decreed' or 'instituted' would very well represent it. Christ's immediate followers did certainly have 'all things in common.'

129. 28. **rightest Christian companies**. The marginal Latin note has *coenobia*, i.e. religious communities, such as monasteries.

129. 32. **us four**. See 18. 11.

130. 3. **without a ... bishop**. This touches the critical question of 'Apostolic succession,' which agitated the Anglican Church not long afterwards, and on which Milton wrote so fiercely. The way in which More raises the question and evades it, is ingenious. See 9. 14, where he gives us a picture of a would-be Bishop of Utopia.

130. 9. **company**. Robinson should have used another word here, as he has just used 'company' to denote Hythloday's fellow-travellers. Here the orig. has *nostro coctu*, i.e. from our (Christian) congregation.

130. 12. **affection** : in orig. *studio*, i.e. zeal.

130. 21. **one of the ancientest laws** This chapter on the religions in Utopia offers many puzzles to those who try to analyse More's character, and who look for guidance to his acts. It seems perfectly incredible that a man who had once viewed religious tolerance with the toleration, or rather the strong approval, which this passage displays, should have been at heart, or could have ever become, a persecutor of heretics. See Introduction, 'More and the Reformation.'

130. 22. **shall be blamed** : rather 'should suffer any ill.'

130. 24. **King Utopus**. See 66. 16.

The reasons urged against religious intolerance are firstly political. Similarly, the civil power is allowed to decide questions of divorce (111. 13). This is remarkable enough in one who sacrificed his life to his 'conscience' in the matter of the Supremacy. But even more surprising for the reader of More's life is the, apparently sincere, pleading for a doctrinal minimum, i.e. merely such tenets as those in which the religion of Socrates consisted.

131. 19. **the own** : its own.

132. 18. **and that only.** The literal rendering is 'But they prevent him from disputing about his opinion, (and that) anyhow among the common people.'

132. 27. **souls of brute beasts:** perhaps an allusion to the Oriental and Pythagorean doctrine of Transmigration of souls. According to Plato's account (*Phaedrus*) the soul, when first fallen from heaven on to the earth, has to choose a human body, but after its first earthly life it can choose the form of a beast, and if it chooses ever lower forms it can at last become incurably degenerate and be cast into Tartarus. That beasts possess 'souls' has been held by many—among them apparently by John Wesley.

133. 2. **runneth not to him gladly.** This reminds one of various passages in Plato's *Phaedo*, where Socrates, a few hours before his death, discourses on the immortality of the soul. It also finds illustration in More's own conduct and words during his last days. He was accustomed to say that if his wife and children would encourage him to die in a good cause, 'it should so comfort him, that for very joy thereof it would make him merrily run to death.'

133. 11. **with joyful singing.** Herodotus (v. 4) describes a similar custom. In Bohemia funerals are (or were 25 years ago) sometimes accompanied by bands playing lively tunes and people in gala costume.

133. 13. **burn the bodies.** The preference given to the heathen custom of cremation is remarkable.

133. 24. **inconvenient:** 'not consistent with the lot of the blessed' is the sense of the original.

133. 34. **affiance:** trust. The orig. means 'trusting as it were in such guardians.'

134. 1. **soothsayings ... birds.** Compare the Utopian contempt for astrologers, 94. 34. The belief in augury—or anyhow the official use of augury—continued for many centuries among the Greeks and Romans. Augurs took omens at all important functions, and their interpretation of the auguries (originally the signs given by the flight and cry of birds) often overrode all other authority. Cicero wrote a treatise about *Divination*, in which he deplored its disappearance as an old and picturesque custom; but neither he nor any of his educated contemporaries regarded it otherwise than as an empty superstition.

134. 5. **miracles.** In his *Dialogue* (1528), directed against the Lutherans—a work sharply attacked by Tyndale—More writes fully and strongly in support of orthodox miracles—i.e. such as had the sanction of the papal Church; all others being 'devils' wonders.' But in earlier life he did not, as it seems, draw this

distinction so clearly. At that time heretics were contemptible rather than formidable to him, and he, as a reformer, was almost as outspoken in his criticism of the Church as Erasmus himself. In a letter prefixed to his translation of Lucian (see l. 1), written about 1506, he says: 'This advantage Lucian will bring us, that we shall be free of the superstition which is everywhere creeping over us in the guise of religion There is hardly any life of a martyr or a virgin where they have not inserted some lies of this kind They have not shrunk from polluting with figments a religion founded by Him who was the very Truth.'

134. 8. common intercession and prayers. Cf. *St. James* v. 14. It was probably about a year later that Margaret recovered so wonderfully from the terrible sweating-sickness. While 'in his chapel upon his knees most devoutly beseeching Almighty God' to spare his child, he is said to have thought of a remedy which proved effectual, and she, 'contrary to all expectations, was (as it was thought) by her father's fervent prayer miraculously recovered, although God's marks, evident undoubted token of death, had plainly appeared upon her.' The orig. *procurant* does not quite mean 'they procure.' The word is used (at least by classical writers) to denote careful attendance to religious rites, and here probably means 'devoutly seek.'

134. 25. fray: frighten, deter.

134. 30. serviceable: the orig. means 'the more they show themselves slaves,' i.e. the more ready they are to undertake the meanest duties. All this is of course bitter irony directed against the innumerable 'vagabond friars' (40. 3) and 'idle priests and religious men' (76. 34) with whom Christendom was infested.

134. 34. eating of flesh: i.e. butcher's meat; what he calls later the 'flesh of four-footed beasts,' as distinguished from fish and white flesh. See 82. 17 and 95. 19.

135. 1. sweating: toiling. Cf. *laborare est orare*.

135. 5. cannot be discharged This expresses well the motive that most probably induced More himself to renounce the monastic life. He saw that this life was unnatural, and preferred to live 'according to nature' rather than be 'an impure priest.' At the same time he, as the Utopians themselves, gave all due respect to those who were really 'led by religion' rather than by reason to adopt such a life.

135. 16. worship them. A sentence has here been omitted by Robinson. The sense of it is: 'For they observe nothing more scrupulously than not to lay down any opinion rashly about any religious conviction.'

135. 17. **Buthrescas**: a queer fabrication from the Greek, meaning 'ex-religious,' i.e. 'hugely religious.' There is worm-wood in the word.

135. 21. **very few**. Where this is repeated (p. 137) there is a marginal note, meaning 'But what multitudes with us!' More often speaks strongly of the great numbers of priests. 'Every man,' he writes, 'must have a priest in his house to wait upon his wife ... as vile an office as keeping horses and hawks and dogs I would see a way that we should not have such a rabble.' See also 76. 34.

136. 24. **unless they be women**. This is still stranger than the married priests (cf. 85. 2). Not only did More join in the abuse of Luther and his 'maid Marion,' but he also, in his diatribe against Tyndale, fiercely denies the possibility of women-priests in the Christian Church, though he admits that in any such a religion as Tyndale's 'a woman were indeed a more meet priest than St. Peter.' Priestesses were common among the Greeks and Romans.

137. 19. **upon their knees**. We are meant to contrast this with the conduct of militant popes and prelates—the official representatives of the Prince of Peace.

137. 34. **reculed**: recoiled. Fr. *reculé*.

138. 11. **Cynemernes**. (There is a reading **Lynemernes** in some editions; perhaps a misprint.) As Vossius (about 1700) remarks, the word is evidently a compound of the Greek words for 'dog' and 'day,' and possibly the 'dog days' meant here are the days or nights of the new moon, when the dogs of Hecate (or Luna) were heard barking. **Trapemernes** would similarly mean the 'days of the turn (of the month or year).'

138. 29. **sacrifice**. The Lat. *sacrificium* does not necessarily mean a bloody sacrifice (see 140. 5). Moreover the orig. here has *sacrum*, i.e. sacred rite.

139. 15. **confessing**. Another noticeable and audacious suggestion. More evidently recognised (intellectually anyhow) the many and great evils resulting from confession to priests.

140. 5. **kill no living beast** Cf. notes on capital punishment, hunting, and vegetarianism. The offerings of Cain and of Abel might here supply a text for comment. Pythagoras, as was but natural in a believer in the transmigration of souls, sacrificed nothing but inanimate objects—perhaps not even living plants. The sacrifice of animals was doubtless in some cases begun as a substitute for human sacrifice (e.g. Abraham and the ram, Iphigenia and the hind, etc.). Incense was much used by the Greeks and Romans as well as by the Semitic races.

140. 21. divers feathers. Certain birds were regarded by the ancients as prophetic, and almost the whole art of divination (see on 134. 1) was connected with birds. But the description of these mystical feathery Urim and Thummin adornments reminds one of Mexico. Is it possible that More had heard reports of the Aztec feather writing? Cortez landed in Mexico a few years later.

141. 1. music. The puritanical outcry against choirs and instrumental music was of later date, but in More's age strong protests were raised against the irreverent performances of choirs. 'Our singers cry out so loud that we hear nothing save a noise, and those that be present cannot be edified with the word' (Polydore Vergil, quoted by Dr. Lupton). Erasmus, in his annotation to 1 *Cor.* xiv. 19, says: 'People come crowding to church as if it were a theatre.... These (musical performances) are so popular that the clergy busy themselves about nothing else, especially among the English.... They imagine that God is propitiated by wanton brayings and vocal gymnastics.'

141. 12. move ... minds. Cf. Shakspeare's descriptions of the power of music. It was just this power which induced Plato to banish from his State all poetry and music, except hymns to the gods and martial strains.

141. 15. expressly pronounced: *i.e.* a prescribed form of prayer.

141. 33. in this diversity. How anyone through whose mind such a noble thought had once passed should have written and acted as More did in regard to 'heretics,' is as insoluble a puzzle as that offered by the Meditations of M. Aurelius, when one thinks of his persecutions of Christians.

142. 35. nephews = grandsons (Lat. *nepotes*).

143. 5. equity ... justice. See on 46. 35.

143. 7. goldsmith. 'At the Renaissance goldsmiths assumed a rank which they had never had before' (Woltmann's *Holbein*). (It was not till much later that the banking business, as Macaulay tells us, fell into the hands of the goldsmiths.) Some of Holbein's great portraits are of goldsmiths, *e.g.* the magnificent personage 'Hubert Morett, the goldsmith,' in the Dresden Gallery, and of Hans von Antwerpen.

143. 25. killeth them up, i.e. off. Cf. 'To fright the animals and to kill them up' (*As You Like It*, II. 1).

144. 34. brabbling: wrangling.

145. 14. worthy princess, lady money: the orig. means 'that blessed One, Money,' where 'blessed' is sarcastic. Robinson was perhaps thinking of Horace's *regina pecunia*, 'Queen Money.'

145. 24. **Christ.** That More (or even Hythloday) should thus boldly claim Christ's authority in support of the Utopian constitution, and of Utopian communism in particular, seems absolutely decisive of one point—viz. that More did, in spite of all the husks of medieval superstition which cased him in, feel in his heart the longings for the light of a truer Christianity. He would never have used Christ's name thus in a mere *jeu d'esprit*.

145. 28. **beast** Pride, 'Superbia,' is similarly pictured as a beast—a lion—by Dante.

145. 36. **hell-hound.** The orig. means 'serpent of Avernus (hell).'

146. 29. **the true ornaments** There can be no doubt whatever that this is said in contempt of the common opinion. Why More—as many another—cannot go the whole length with Hythloday is merely because he had not been with Hythloday in Utopia and convinced himself of the *practicability* of abolishing money.

146. 34. **he had reprehended** .. refers apparently to the 'lawyer' of pp. 24. 31, and the courtiers of p. 41.

148. 2. **Buslyde**, or Busleyden, was 'Propst' (clerical Overseer) of the Church of Aire, then in Flanders, now in the Pas de Calais. He was Canon of Brussels, and of Mechlin (Malines), where he had a splendid house, alluded to more than once by More. He was a Councillor to Prince Charles (afterwards the Emperor).

149. 5. **discrive.** See on 37. 15.

149. 35. **a metre.** See Note on Frontispiece.

150. 20. **sublevation**: altitude. Latitude is measured by the meridian altitude of the sun, with which of course the altitude of the pole varies.

151. 7. **to be published.** It was printed at Louvain a month or two after the date of this letter.

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